Chronology and History of Nepal

[From 600 B.C. to 880 A.D.]

By
K. P. JAYASWAL

Published by
M. N. BARMAN & Co.
PUBLISHERS AND BOOKSELLERS
PATNA
1937

ALLAHABAD LAW JOURNAL PRESS, ALLAHABAD
M. N. PANDEY - PRINTER

TO

RAHULA SANKṚITYAYANA

परमार्थशास्त्रकृत्या कुर्वाणः शास्तृकृत्यमिव लोके ।
यो धर्मवता मग्यो द्वितीय इव धर्मकीर्तिरिति ॥

ALLAHABAD LAW JOURNAL PRESS, ALLAHABAD
M. N. PANDEY — PRINTER

TO

RAHULA SANKṚITYAYANA

परमार्थंशास्त्रकृत्या कुर्वाणः शास्तृकृत्यमिव लोके ।
यो धर्मंवता मन्यो द्वितीय इव धर्मकीर्तिरिति ॥

PREFACE

Up to this time we had no modem work which dealt with the chronology and history of Népal from the earliest time to 880 A. D. For the period from 880 A. D. (the foundation of the Népal Era) to the eighteenth century (when the présent dynasty succeeded) the chronology and history hâve been worked out by Dr. C. Bendall and embodied in the introduction to his Népal Catalogue of Manuscripts, published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Prof. S. Lévi in Vol. II of his *L* Népal* has given the abstracts of the Népal Chronicles which had been brought to notice by the researches of Kirkpattick, Wright, Bhagwanlal Indraji and Bendall, with the addition of one more édition of the Chronicles *{Vamïâvalt)* discovered by him. But Dr. Lévi did not attempt to construct any connected chronology. Further his energy was mostly spent on controverting the dates arrived at for Népal inscriptions by Bhagwanlal, Bendall and Fleet. Unfortunately Dr. Lévi was not very strong on Indian epigraphy, and he considered Népal inscriptions to be in eras centuries earlier than those proposed by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Bendall. The inscriptions which had been intcrpretcd by the latter as dated in the Gupta Eta (an era starting in 319 A. D.) were placed by Dr. Lévi in the Saka Era (starting in 78 A. D.). ki this great confusion it became necessary to review

the whole data and the conclusions thereon by thèse previous scholars. The reader will find the process and the results in the following pages. Dr. Cecil Bendall has been found to be the most reliable authority on matters epigraphical. His great and long labour on Népal manuscripts had made him thoroughly familiar with Népal writings and their times. It was he who first recognised that the years in larger figures in Népal inscriptions were in the Gupta Era. The resuit of my enquiry is that Prof. Bendall and Dr. Fleet were right in this respect and Prof. Lévi was mistaken. My conclusion about the other contemporary era of the Népal inscriptions is that it is not the era of Harsha (beginning in 606 A. D.) as held by Bhagwanlal, Fleet, and Bendall, nor a Tibetan era originating about 593 to 595 A. D. as proposed by Lévi; but a Ṭhâkurï Era with its starting point in 595 A. D. instituted by Aṁśuvarman.

The great contribution to the chronology of Népal by Prof. Lévi is the datum on King Narendra-deva, grandson of Aṁéuvarman, from Chinese history, which enables us to correct some important errors in the views of Bhagwanlal and Fleet.

Népal coins, the Mañjuśrî-Mûlakalpa history, and an astronomical manuscript hâve been utilized in the présent study as additional data. On history—Indian, Nepalese, Tibetan, and Chinese materials hâve been combined. After the présent volume had been printed ofF fresh évidence has corne to light establishing the dominion of the Kushans in Champaran. A hoard of sixty pièces of copper coins of early Kushans was dug out at Raḍhiâ, the village

which is marked by a pillar of Aéoka. It becomes therefore very probable that the early Kushans ruled also in Népal, as suggested in this volume. Attention has been drawn to the stone monuments which are in line with Early Gupta Art and which the writer has personally seen and examined.

The Népal chronicles hâve misplaced the Kirâta Dynasty—Nepal's first dynasty—and the Gupta Dynasty. But for this misplacement and transposition of certain names in the Lichchhavi Dynasty, the Chronicles are correct. Their dates, however, are hopelessly corrupt, owing, amongst other causes, to the Nepalese writers having mistaken in the inscriptions of Aṁéuvarman (seventh century A. D.) the Samvat (of Aṁéuvarman) for the Samvat Era of 5 8 B. C.

The period surveyed in this volume—about 600 B. c. to 880 A. D.—covers the period that may conveniently be described as the period of Ancient Népal.

Buddhism was introduced by the Emperor Aśoka into Népal amongst a population nearly wholly non-Aryan—the Kirâtas. Saivism, the orthodox caste System, and Aryan population in appréciable numbers and as a dominant factor were introduced by the Lichchhavi dynasty for the first time, from the Muzafferpur district, in the third century of the Christian Era, and the process continued on. Népal is thus intimately connected with Bihar. But Népal is so secluded and eut off from Bihar along with the rest of Northern India that the Indian knows more of distant lands than of Népal which is his ancient colony and which has been a part of his Indian empire for centuries and where one of his most sacred shrines

is enthroned. Similarly the history of Népal which should be a subject of attraction to us has remained almost outside the sphère of Indian enquiry.

It is a hopeful sign that the Government of Népal has just begun taking interest in their historical remains. They hâve undertaken excavation at Lumbini—the birth-place of the Buddha. In Népal many sites invite excavation—e.g. the prominent site of the Kailàsakûṭa Palace. Searches are to be made for early inscriptions. Aéoka must hâve left some records in the valley, as he has left more than four stūpas. The site of the famous Mânagṛiha is yet to be discovered. Népal, on the surface, is full of inscriptions, where they number by thousands. As yet no search has been made outside the three capitals or a systematic search even in those capitals. It is hoped that interest in the matter will increase in Népal and a proper department organized. Documents on stone, métal, palm-leaf and paper of great value to the history of Népal and of Bhâratavarsha are, we believe, sure to corne to light if the matter receives officiai attention. The last earthquake which destroyed thousands of ancient books should serve as a warning against indifférence.

It is hoped that this volume may serve to stimulate interest in Népal itself in recovering and systematising its history.

I am thankful to JJis Highness the Maharaja-Marshal of Népal for allowing me to visit the valley and to hâve a firsthand knowledge of many materials and matters discussed in this volume.

K. P. J.

CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY OF NEPAL
600 B.C. TO 880 A.D.

Bj K. P. JAYASWAL

A

Lichchhavis and Thakuris

[350 A.D. to 880 A.D.]

CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY OF NEPAL

[600 B.C.—880 A.D.]

A

LICHCHHAVIS AND THAKURIS

350 A.D. to 880 A D.

I.—THE DATE AND ERA OF AMSUVARMAN

In the Népal chronology the date of Amsuvarman is a pivot, like the date of Chandragupta Maurya, to move up and to move down for several centuries. Aṁéuvarman's date is therefore an important matter.

His date as 635-650 A. D. was postulated by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji on the basis of the Harṣha Era, that is, taking the dates in his inscriptions to be in the Harsha Era; and his view was accepted by Dr. Fleet and has been followed

subsequently by Indian writers. That view nceds reconsideration.

On the date of this king we hâve the following materials. From Tibetan sources we know that the Tibetan emperor Strong-stan-Gampo whose rule is dated at 629 A. D.[1] (V. Smith, *EH.*, 373, 376 n.), married Arhéuvarman's daughter between 628 and 641.[2] From the account of Yuan Chwang, who began his travels in India in 629 and reached China in 64 j (V. Smith, 373, 365), wegatherthat Arhéuvarman, areputed author, had passed away before the Chinese pilgrim left India, that he was '*a récent king?* that is, he had died not long ago. His time is thus fixed as a little before 644 or 645, from the Tibetan and Chinese sources.

Now according to Népal inscriptions, he was alive in certain yéars of an unnamed era, in years 34, 39, and 44 noted in the records of his reign (Dr. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions,* Introduction, pp. 178-180), and he

[1] According to Chinese History he died in 650 A. D. (JRAS, 1880, 438), and according to Tibetan, in 698 A. D.

[2] According to Waddell and Sarat Chandra Das in 641, and according to de Milloué, between 628 and 631 (V. Smith, p. 376 ».). The name of the Népal king, the father of the Princess, is *go-cha* in Tibetan which has been translated as *Prabhâ-varman* (JASB, LIX. 54), and *Jyoti-varman* (Sarat Ch. Das, JASB, L. 200). The référence does not necessarily prove that the marriage took place in thf. lifetime of Arhéuvarman.

[3] Beal and Watters, ii, 84, leave no room for doubt on the Chinese text. Bhagwanlal Indraji tried to doubt the translation *(IA.,* XIII. 419), and Fleet totally ignored the évidence of Yuan Chwang. The opinion of the Sinologues is unanimous on the passage that Arhéuvarman is recorded as a past king by Yuan Chwang *(JA.,* 1894, 58).

must hâve died in or before the year 48 (Fleet, p. 180) in which year the record of his successor Jishṇu-Gupta is dated and wherein Aṁéuvarman is mentioned as a past sovereign. In any case, Aṁéu-varman's rule, therefore, could not hâve lasted after the 48th year of this era; and as he died before 645 (Yuan Chwang) the era could not begin after (645-48) 597 A. D. There is, however, yet another référence to Aṁéuvarman in the Népal inscriptions. It is an inscription of Sivadeva I, the Lichchhavi king, whose feudatory Aṁéuvarman had been and who mentions him in an inscription dated in the year 316 of an unnamed era (Fleet, 177-78). This era was taken by Fleet to be the Gupta Era, and it is not possible to take it otherwise owing to the known date of Aṁéuvarman from the external sources discussed above. This era beginning as it did 316 years before the time of Aṁéuvarman (c. 640) must begin in the first quarter of the 4th century and the only known era which falls to commence about that time is the Gupta Era beginning in 319-320 A. D. The inscription of Samudra Gupta proves the subordination of Népal to him. There seems to be no room for any doubt that Népal adopted the Impérial Gupta Era. In the year 316 (635 A. D., 3rd May) Aṁéuvarman according to the inscription is feudatory and adviser (though dominant adviser) of Sivadeva I. The form *"Mahâsàmanta-Amhvarmmanà vijnàpitnna maya"*— proves conclusively the subordinate position of Aṁéuvarman. In his own inscriptions up to the

year 34, Amsuvàrman calls himself *Mabâsâmanta,High* Feudatqry'; and in the yeat 39 he drops that title and adopts *'Sri,'* 'His Majesty.' Améuvat*t*man to start as king would therefore be dàted in or about 63 5 A, D., not much before, and his reign [as king] will fall between 635 and 645 A. D. (Yuan Chwang)—a period roughly of 10 years at the highest It follows, then, that his own inscription of the year 39 would be about 635 A. D., that the years 35 to 44 or 45 while Aṁéuvarman was alive would cover his whole reign of 10 years. His reign [as king] is thus to be dated between about 63 5 A. D. and 645 A. D. And the era of thèse lower figure years must begin in or before 600 A. D. and not after. It, therefore, cannot be the Harsha Era which began in 606-607 A. D.

Tbe Initial Year of the Era of Amiuvarman

There is a definite pièce of information in Chinese History of the T'ang Dynasty (chapter 221)[1] giving détails of Népal History from contemporary writings which proves that Aṁéuvarman was dead before the year 643 A. D. In the period 642-647 A. D. when the Impérial Envoy from China—Li Y-piao—was on his way to the court of Harshavardhâna, he found on the throne of Népal 'the king Narendradeva [Na-ling-ti-po].' The father of this king whose name we know from inscriptions to be Udayadeva, eldest son *(Yuvarâja)* of Aṁéuvarman,[2] had been deposed by Naren-

[1] Lévi, *JA.*, 1894, 60, 67; *JA.*, 1900, 304.
[2] *IA.*, IX. 170, insc. of the year 59.

Beginning of line 30 of Thankot Inscription of Mânadeva and Jishnn Gupta.



40 4

dradeva's uncle, younger btothet of his fether. Narendradeva was restored to throne by the Tibetan king on the condition that the former became his vassal.[1] Several times two Chinese envoys passed through Népal between the period 642-647 and 657 A. D. while Narendradeva was ruling. It is an ascertained fact from Chinese history that from 643 A. D. to 657 A. D. Narendradeva was found on the throne.[2] Arhéuvarman's death therefore is to be dated before 643 and after 63 j A. D. when he was alive in the time of Sivadeva I. The period is further narrowed down by the discovery of a further inscription of Sivadeva I, dated 320 published by Professor Lévi in his vol. III on Népal (p. 79)[3]. This is similar to his other charters mentioning the *Mahâsâmanta* Améuvarman, who had conquered ail the enemies. He was thus alive in (320 G. E.) 639 A. D., and his death must fall between 639 A. D. and 643 A. D.

Now can we get at the exact date between thèse two incontestable dates 639 and 643 A. D. ? If my reading of the date as the year 44 in the Thânkot inscription of Jishṇu Gupta (Lévi, iii, plate

[1] The passage has bcen several times translated by Frertch Sinalogues commencing with St. Julien *(JA,* 1847).

[2] SeeLévi, JA, 1894, 55; 1900, 297; *Le Népal,* i. 155; ii. 164-165; cf. V. Smith, EH, 366, on dates of arrivais of the mission in India.

[3] Discovered by Maharaja Chandra Shamsher Jang at Khopasi (a village to the east of Bhatgaon). Plate XIII of Lévi has the date in perfect and deatest state of préservation, and reads 320, *Cbaitra kftshṅṇa-paHchamyâm Unfortunately Prof. Lévi, under his curious idea of Népal Eras and of Népal history which minimised the importance of all Gupta connexions in Népal, read the figure as 520.**

XVII), be correct,[1] we can definitely say that Jishṇu Gupta and his puppets, Mànadeva and Dhruvadeva—uncle of Narendradeva and the Lichchhavi succeeding him—ruled for 4 years (yrs. 48[2] and 44 in Jishṇu Gupta's inscriptions), and that the death of Aṁéuvarman is to be dated (643-4) *c*. 639.

Fortunately we hâve an astronomical datum in an inscription of Aṁéuvarman discovered and published by Dr. Bendall in his *Journey into Népal* (IA, XV. 338). This is dated in the year 34, in the intercalary month of *Pausha (prathama-Pausha sukla-dvitïyâyâm)*. According to the présent system no intercalation is reckoned in Pausha or Mârgaéïrsa, but that such intercalation was reckoned in the earlier period is confirmed by another inscription noted by Dr. Fleet *(IA*, XV. 338). Now following the System of the old Àrya Siddhânta[3] the month of Pausha will intercalate in the period 600-700 A. D. in four years, namely in 629, 648, 667 and 686 A. D.[4] As 648, 667 and 686 fall in the reigns of Narendradeva and later, we hâve to sélect only 629 A. D. as the date when the year 34 of Améuvarman with *prathama* (Ist) Pausha [about November, 23] fell. This will give the initial year of Aṁéuvarman's era to be 595 A. D.[5]

[1] See plate of the beginning of Une 30 (enlarged) from Lévi, iii, 104, pi. XVII. Lévi suggested 500, of which thcre is no trace.

[2] IA., IX. 171.

[3] See Sewell, *Siâdhàntas and the Indian Caiendar* (p.x).

[4] See Sewell's Tables.

[5] Cf. *JA*, 1894, 62 (Lévi, On the Chronologv of Népal), where he has taken 594, which is an error. His otner astronomical facts arealso inaccurate. According to the Brahmasid-

His 44th year will thus be 639 A. D.[1] We hâve therefore to take his death year to be that if the Thankot inscription is dated in the year 44 and his last inscription to be dated in the year 44, not 45 [the reading was doubtful between 44 and 45, Bhagwanial Indraji, *IA*, IX. 171 *n.* 27; Fleet, *GI*, I, 180, *n.* 5]. Otherwise it would fall (in any case) after Chaitra-kṛishṇa-pañchamï, March 639 A. D. and before 643 A. D.

The Chrono/ogy of the rule of Amïuvarman and Dynastie dévolution on his death

The chronology of the reigns of Aṁśuvarman and Jishṇu Gupta would stand thus.

Athsuvarman

595 Beginning of Améuvarman's Era.

625 Arhéuvarman's Harigaon inscription (Lévi, iii, 85) ot year 30, Jyaisṭha 6, fixing maintenance of his commander-in-chief, his coronationhorseand éléphants, and others.

dhânta (which, Lévi erroneously says, would give the same result) the intercalation of Pausha will take place in 602, 621 and 640 A. D. The Brahma-siddhânta could not hâve reached Népal in 602 A. D. or 621 A. D., for it was published and came into use after 628 A. D. (Sewell, p. X). 660 A. D. = 34 of Arhéuvarman will give us 606 A. D. as the initial year of the era, which we hâve scen to be impossible. 621 A. D. = 34 of Arhéuvarman would make him dead in 635 (587 + 48th year when Jishnu Gupta was ruling), while he was alive up to 639, the 320 year record of Sivadeva.

The astronomical calculations given above hâve been verified by my friend Dr. Gorakh Prasad, the astronomer of the Allahabad University.

[1] Kirkpatrick's Varhs'âvalï gives Arhéuvarman a reign of 41 years.

627 His second Harigaon insc, of year 32, Àshâḍha S. 13, (Lévi, iii. 93), fixing charitable allowances. His Sanga insc. of year 32, Bhâdrâpada S. 1, giving a privilège to the village [describing Palace *Kailâsakûta* from which ail his charters are issued, as a 'wonder-inspiring' building] Lévi, iii. 99.

629 His insc. of year 34 (Jyaishṭha S.io), IA, IX. 169, on préservation of cocks, pigs, and fishes, etc.

629 His insc. of year 34 (prathama-Pausha S.2), Bendall, p. 74. Grant of fields for repairs of a building.

634 His insc. of year 39, Vaiéâkha S.io, order issued as king (jr7), for administration in respect of religious (Saiva) endowments by his sister and her children [IA., IX. 170.]; Udayadeva as *yuvarâja.*

Amluvarman and *Sivadeva* I.

635 Sivadeva I's insc. of year 316 Jyaistha S.10 (Bendall, journey, p. 72, IA, XIV. 97) granting privilège to a village on the advice of the *Mahasâmanta* Amsuvarman.

639 Sivadeva I's insc. of year 320, Chaitra, Kṛishṇa 5, at Khopasi; privilège to the village on the advice of *Ms.* Aṁéuvarman (Lévi, iii. 79).[1]

639 Vibhuvarman's insc. in the year 44 (or,

[1] **There are two more inscriptions of Sivadeva I where *MS,* Aṁéuvarman's advice is cited in the charters, but the dates are gone—IA, IX. 168; Lévi, iii, 62 [Tulachchhitol-Bhatgaon].**

45), Jyeshṭha S., when he built a conduit by favour of His Majesty *(srï)* Améuvarman.

Jishṇu Gupta and *Mànadeva*

639 (?) Thankot inscription of *Sri* Jishṇu Guptadeva, under Baṭṭâraka ['Master'] Sri Mânadeva, *'banner of tbejamily occupying the Lion-Throne'.* of year 44 [?], confirming the grant for a tank made by his own great-grandfather Mânadevagomin. Jishṇu Gupta had his own *Yuvarâja* Vishṇu Gupta, and his dynasty *Soma* [Lévi, iii. 104]

Jishṇu Gupta and *Dhruvadeva Lichchhavi.*

643 Jishṇu Gupta (His Majesty, *Sri)*, at Mîna-Nârâyaṇ, in year 48, Kârttika S.2, makes over to a feudatory a water-course which had been dug out by the *"Mahârajadhirâja AmJuvarma-pâda."* The order is passed under the over-lord Dhruvadeva. Jishṇu Gupta claims his sovereignty by hereditary right and popular approval *[IA.,* IX. 171].

There is another inscription like the above where the date is mutilated. That also is under Dhruvadeva, the banner of the Lichchhavi dynasty [IA., IX. 173]. The last known inscription [IA, IX. 174] under the prosperous and victorious reign of Srï-Jishṇu-Gupta (Srï-Jishṇu-

Guptasya pravarddhamâna-vijayarâjye) has also lost its date.

Narendradeva

643 Narendradeva [grandson of Aṁéuvarman, son of Udayadeva] found by the Chinese already restored on the Népal throne.

It seems that 643 A. D. was the first year of the restoration of Narendradeva, when Jishṇu-Gupta had been ruling along with Dhruvadeva Lichchhavi whose name we do- not find in the Vaṁéàvali [unless it is to be taken as identical with the *Rudradeva],* The uncle of Narendra-deva, therefore must hâve been Mânadeva who ruled with Jishṇu Gupta before Dhruva-deva who is placed in the Vaṁéâvalis after Udaya-deva and is not called Li*chchhavi-kula-ketu* like Dhru-vadeva but *siîhhâsanâdhyâsi-kula-ketu* in the inscription. It appears that Jishṇu Gupta wanted to légalise his position by setting up a Lichchhavi at Mânagriha in the place of Mânadeva and sought the popular approval as against the claim of Narendradeva.

The Author ojthe Era 595 *A.* D.

What does this era which started in 595 A. D. signify?

The Guptas were expelled by Sivadeva I about this time[1]. But then Sivadeva I him-self uses the Impérial Gupta era and not a new era. It seems that Aṁéuvarman counted the era from his own coronation as *Mahâsàmanta,*

[1] See separate section on the Guptas of Népal below.

and it is Aṁéuvarman's own era. He was the founder of a new (the Ṭhâkurï) dynasty—an event sufficiently important, especially as it meant the virtual supersession of the ancient and long dynasty of the great Lichchhavis. He counted his original coronation as the reckoning of his new dynasty. That he did not take a formai second abhisheka, at least up to his 34th year, is évident from his inscription where throughout he is styled by the old title *Mahàsâmanta,* although ail the paraphernalia and fonctions mentioned in the inscriptions are fully royal. Probably he was re-anointed in the very last year of his reign as the full title of sovereignty—*Mahârâjâdhiraja*—does appear on one séries of his coins.[1] This was not a posthumous title given by JishṇuGupta as supposed by Bhagwan Lai Indraji and Lévi.

A telling argument against the theory of the introduction of the Harsha Era into Népal is that had it been politically introduced we would hâve found it also in the inscriptions of Sivadeval, contemporary of Aṁéuvarman. On the other hand, Sivadeval and his successors never adopted the era which Aṁéuvarman and his successors used, that is, the era of lower figures—years 30 to 153. It was thus evidently the Ṭhâkuri Era, the era of Aṁéuvarman, counted from his coronation as *Mahâsâmanta.*

[1] Cunningham, C, A. I. 117. Lévi, Bhagwankl Indraji and Flcet hâve missed this pièce of évidence.

A Tibet an Era in Népal?

Prof. Lévi expounded a theory that Aṁhvarman's years were in a Tibetan Era (*Le Népal,* ii, 153-54) which, according to the dates 1203 and 1206 in Dalai Lama's letters of 1789 and 1792 A.D., should hâve begun in 586 A. D. The Chinese register the foundation of the Tibetan empire in the K'ai-Hoang period which falls between 581 and 601 A. D. Professor Lévi therefore suggests that there was a Tibetan Era which was also the origin of the Bengali Era called *"San"* Both thèse théories are untenable.

The Bengal Era though apparently counted from 593 A. D. as its initial year, has really nothing to do with any era starting in 593 A.D. It was invented *ht* the reign of Akbar by taking the years of Hindu eras [Samvat and others] for the year of Akbar's accession and deducting therefrom his accession year in Hijra. His accession occurred in the Hijra year 963; in other Systems it corresponded to 1556 A,D. (1556—963 = 593 A.D.)[1]. The origin of the Bengal *San* is thus a new calculation invented in Akbar's reign, and not a Tibetan era. The spéculation of Prof. Lévi Connecting it with a Tibetan era and assuming a supposed Tibetan conquest of Bengal is a product of unhistorical imagination and complète ignorance of the history of the foundation of the *San-i-Bangdld,* the Fasli year of Bihar And the Vilâyatî year of the Deccan, which ail hâve a common origin, as

[1] See Prinsep's *Essays,* ii. 168; Fleet's *Hindu Cbronology* in *Ençy. Brjt.,* xiii.

fully recorded by Muhammadan histotians[1]. Prof. Lévi's method illustrâtes how a pure philologistmakes a poor historian. Prof. Lévi, although he does not say so in clear terms, was swayed [ii. 154] by the name-ending of Tibetan kings *tsan* in attributing a Tibetan origin to the *San* of Bengal, which is not a Tibetan but a Persian word. Tibetans never had any era, that is, a continuous reckoning in their own country. They counted time in cycles and by periods (Prinsep, *Essajs,* ii. 160 *'Tibetan Kakndar';* ii. 289, *'Buddbist Chronology of Tibet'*; Waddel, *Lbasa* (1909), 449, *Tibetan Year-Cycles).* They hâve a fixed epoch falling in 1025 A.D. which is the year of the introduction into Tibet of the Hindu chronological System called *Kâlachakra.* Csoma translated the Tibetan chronology composed in A.D. 1686 (Prinsep, ii. 289) which clearly admits that there was no Tibetan era up to 1686 A.D., that the whole idea of an era was absent in the Tibetan System. For the period before 1025 A.D. Tibet has a fixed epoch of 403 years (Prinsep, ii. 162). Prof. Lévi not finding a possible date in 586 A.D. for Améuvarman's era, proposed that this 403 figure must be a mistake for 430 and deducting from 1025 A.D. reached 595 A.D. and said that that must be the beginning of a Tibetan era which was introduced in Népal. Now apart from the fact that the whole of the Tibetan chronology négatives the idea of there having been an era in Tibet, Prof. Lévi's proposai to change 403 into 430 is based on no ground. The "epoch of 403 years" is not

1 Prinsep, ii. 169.

rendered in Tibetan in figures but by a chronogram *mekha-gya-tso* which does not admit of a possible transposition in the process of copying. Further the period "403 years" is too solidly fixed and too well-attested for the interval by noted events to premise a correction (Prinsep, ii. 289).

Now "403 years" before their epoch of 1025 A.D. takes us to 622 A.D. which is really an era, the Hijra era, which Tibet came to know of very early, having corne in conflict with the Arabs within the first century of the Hijra—a conflict which continued and lasted for a long time. There is not the least trace in Tibetan books of the establishment of a Tibetan era in 586 A.D., 593 A.D. or 595 A.D.—the dates proposed by Lévi.

It is not possible to hold that the years of Aṁéuvarman are dated in a Tibetan Era. Prof. Lévi says that the adoption of 'the Tibetan Era* signifies the subjugation of Népal by Tibet. If so, there is no explanation as to why the real king of Népal, the Lichchhavi Sivadeva (I), contemporary of Aṁéuvarman signing his writ in 316 (G. E.) = 635 A. D. does not adopt the so-called Tibetan Era. He and his successors continue to use another and an older era of three figures (the Gupta Era). If a Tibetan Era was politically introduced in Népal, it would be expected that the Lichchhavi king in 635 A. D. should hâve used it as Aṁéuvarman is supposed to hâve used it. Tibetan influence is assumed on the ground of marriage of the daughter of Aṁéuvarman with the first Tibetan emperor, Srong-tsan-Gampo,

whose accession date is definitely **629** A. **D.** But we **fiad** Aṁéuvarman dating his Harigaon inscription in the year 30 (625 A. D.).[1] If it is in a Tibetan Era the introduction of the Era would be eyen before the accession of Srong-tsan-Gampo! And if we take 'the Tibetan Era' to commence in 586 A.D. the date of AṁSuvarman's year 30 would be 616, i.e., 13 years before the accession Srong-tsan-Gampo! The whole volume of évidence contradicts the possibility.[2] There is no room for the assumption of the introduction of a Tibetan era before 629 A.D.. Yuan Chwang who passed through the Muzafferpur district in 637 A.D. and took down notes about Népal in that year knows nothing about any Tibetan suzerainty over Népal and treats that kingdom as an independent one. In 650 A.D. when Taosuen compiled his *Che-kia-fan-chi*[3] after quoting the description by Yuan Chwang textually he adds "actually the kingdom is under the domination of the Tibetans." The era of Aṁéuvarman's inscriptions which go back to 625 A. D., i.e., some years even before Yuan Chwang's account, could not therefore be dated in a Tibetan Era. Then, if in the year 30 of Aṁéuvarman when he described himself as *Mahâsâmantd)* Népal had been already conquered by Tibet, how could Aṁéuvarman strike his coins later

[1] **Lévi, *Le Népal,* iii, 85. This inscription was unknown to Bhagwanlal Indraji and Fleet.**

[2] **See bclow on the data of the Mañjuérï History and the Chinese History which definitely date the Tibetan suzcrainty after Jishṇu Gupta (successor of Aṁéuvarman) and between 643 A. D. and 647 A. D.**

[3] ***Nanjio, Catalogue,* (No. 1470; JA, 1894, 60.)**

with the full impérial title, that is, the title of an independent sovereign—*'Mahâràjâdhiràîcï ?*[1] Prof. Lévi did not take account of this numismatic évidence at ail, otherwise probably he would not hâve put forward his theory of a Tibetan conquest or suzerainty over Népal and of introduction of a non-existent Tibetan Era into Népal.

II.—CONSTITUTIONAL POSITION OF AMSUVARMAN

The constitutional position of Aṁéuvarman can be gathered from certain Népal inscriptions and his coins; and that position when ascertained throws some light also on the question of the Era used by him and his successors.

There are nine dated inscriptions on him, giving his titles, which may be compared with the titles on his coins.

[1] **Cunningham, GAI, XIII, 5.**

Years and Eras	Record of	Titles of Aṁśu-varman	Corresponding titles on coins of Aṁśuvarman
[1] 316 (635 A.D.)	King Śivadeva (*Bhaṭṭāraka mahārāja Śrī Śivadeva*)	"*Mahāsāmanta* (High Feudatory) *Aṁśuvarman*	Nil.
[2] 320 (639 A.D.)	"	"	"
[3] 30 New Era	Aṁśuvarman	"*Śrī mahāsāmanta Aṁśuvarman*"	"
[4] 32 " "	"	"	"
[5] 34 " "	"	"	"
[6] 34 " "	"	"	"
[7] 39 " "	"	"*Śrī-Aṁśuvarman*"	'*Śrī-Aṁśuvarma*' (CAI, Pl. XIII. 4,6)
[8] 45 or 44 New Era	private individual	"*Śrī-Aṁśuvarman*"	"
[9] 48 " "	King Jishnugupta ("*Śrī-Jishṇugupta*")	*Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja Śrī Aṁśuvarman*	"*Mahārājādhirājasya Śryamśoh* (Śrī-Aṁśu's)

[1] Golmâḍhiṭol, Bhatgaon insc. Fleet, G I, *Intro.* 177-8; I. A.; XIV. 97; Dr. Bėndall was the first to suggest the obvious conclusion from the known date of Arhéuvarman that the Era must be the Gupta Era.

The inscription is by King Sivadeva I where Arhéuvarman is adviser and his sister's son Bhogavarman is the *Dûtaka.*

[2] Khopasi,outside the valley, E of Bhatgaon, Lévi, *Le Népal,* iii. 79 (date misread as "520" for "320").

[3] Lévi, Le Népal, iii, 95, PI. XIII; Harigaon insc. I.

[4] Ibid, p. 93, Harigaon.

[5] IA, IX. 169; GI, Intro. 178; Bungmati insc.

[6] GI, Intro. 179.

[7] IA, IX. 170; GI. 1179; Devapâṭan insc.

[8] IA, IX 171; G I, J. 180; Kathmandu conduit insc.

The above analysis would show

1. that the title *Mahâsâmanta* is given up after the 34th year by Améuvarman, [though the Lichchhavi king still applies it to him up to 639 A.D.];
2. that *Srï* is used as title of full sovereignty, which according to books on constitutional forms and précédents may alone dénote *'His Majesty.'* The same *Srï* alone we find on the coins of Mâna and Guṇa (CAI, XIII, 1, 2);
3. that the higher—the impérial—title of *mahârâjàdhirâja* must hâve been assumed by Aṁéuvarman after or in the year 44/45 and before the year 48, and that he had died before the inscription of Jishṇu Gupta of the year 48;
4. that Aṁéuvarman was never a subordinate of the Tibetan king even up to his death (between years 44 and 48). If Aṁéuvarman had given his daughter to the Tibetan king, so had done the Emperor of China. The alliances prove the importance of Tibet but not suzerainty in either case;
5. that Améuvarman adopted full kingship between the years 34 and 39, and the impérial title after 320 GI [= 639 A. D.]

श्र्यंशुवंर्म्मप्रसादेन कारिता सत्प्रणाली विभुवर्म्मणा . There is a doubt as to whether the figure after 40 was 4 or 5. [Népal Government has extended the parade grounds over this waterwork; the insc. is lost probably buried under ground.]

[9] **I A, XIV. 171; G I, I. 180; Lalitapaṭṭana (Chhinnamastikâ** Temple).

Chaitrakrishna 5[1] in or after and the 44th year;

6. that the era of the 44th year would therefore (639-44) begin in 595A. D., not later.

If we take into account that he must hâve been alive in the year of the marriage of his daughter with the Tibetan king (641) and must hâve died before the year 48—and at least a year before 644 (not later, when Yuan Chwang left the plains of Mid-India), we get the same resuit, namely, that he died between 639 and 643, and his era was counted from 595 A.D. which he ushered in or about 625 A.D. his 3oth year (3oth year of his birth or his rule as *Mahâsâmantd).*

If the real position of Aṁéuvarman is realized, it becomes clear that Aṁśuvarman is registering his own régnai years as a subordinate ruler in his inscriptions. The Harigaon record of the year 30, which is the earliest known record of this ruler, shows his exact status. It announces maintenance grants to a number of his officers, his (old?) animais and some idols, after the fashion of 'old kings' **पूर्वराजानुवृत्त्या यथोचितप्रदानानि.** The record is in form a royal writ (the donor *samâjñâpạyati*, 'commands'). The grants are in favour of, amongst others, *'the Commander-in-Chief* (Mahâbalâdhyaksha), *'the coronation éléphants? 'the coronation horse'* (abhisheka-hastinah; abhishekâévasya), *.'the standard-bearer' 'the confidential leaders at the time of undertaking an invasion* (or, procession? *Yâtrâ).* The writ is made known to

[1] Khopasi insc

the *'Royal Palaces'* (râja-prasâdeshu), and it is laid down in the end that *"future ftings"* were not to neglect this favour of their ancestor (न कैश्चिदयम् प्रसादोन्यथा करणीयो भविष्यद्भिरपि भूपतिभिर्गुरुकृतप्रसादानुवर्त्तिभिरेव भाव्यमिति) to emphasize which the Donor says that this he personally commands i*ti svayamâjna'* (as opposed to, through the médium of a *dûtaka*, agent). This of course, amounts to the Donor's own signature. The date he himself puts down along with the subscript *svayam âjnâ, 'samvat* 30 *Jyaishtha iukla shash-thâyâm?* He is thus talking in terms of a full sovereign, and is directing 'longs' who are to corne after him. His title *mahâsâmanta* had ceased to bear its ordinary meaning and had acquired the elevated position of a royal epithet though denoting the origin, like the *Senâpati* with the name of Pushyamitra, 'the sacrificer of two asvamedhas' (i.e. an emperor: Ayodhyâ inscription) where Pushyamitra though already an emperor is still styled as *Senâpati* by his old title. After the style of a full sovereign Am*ê*uvar-man claims the title of his throne from his respected father (बप्पपादपरिगृहीतः), not from a liege-lord. In other words, any idea of being a feudatory is excluded. And it was to punctuate this that he dates the order in a New Era.

Naturally the old dynasty of the Lichchhavis does not recognise this-era of their rival and ex-feudatory and they date as usual in the old Gupta Era. He counts this New or Ṭhâkurï Era from his birth or accession as *Mahâsâmanta?*

[1] He is given a reign of 42 years by Kirkpatrick's authority.

The inscription of the year 30 is evidently the first donation on assuming sovereignty. Two years later in another writ of gifts—whi.ch is a long list of pious donations (Harigaon Insc. of the year 32: Lévi, iii-92) he says that he was anxious about the happiness of his subjects: कथं प्रजा मे सुखिता भवेद्...In the Bungmatï inscription of again two years later (year 34), he issues a charter to a village community through a dûtaka and refers to himself, addressing his successors, as 'a former king', पूर्वराज-कृतप्रसाद, (IA, IX. 169). He meditated at the feet of his father, that is, as formerly, there is no mention of an overlord. In the Devapâtạn inscription (IA, IX. 170) of the year 39, he is a powerful king, a reformer and has his *own yuvarâja ['crown prince'*—Udayadeva] as dûtaka, giving a pious privilège to a foundation of his sister; but he has no title except *Sri*, just as on several issues of his coins.[1] Similarly in the inscription of the year 4[4] which is a private record he is referred to only as *'Srï-Amsuvarman.'* Thèse two records mean that *Sri* hère stands, as observed above, for 'king' ('His Majesty') and was considered quite sufïicient to denote his full sovereignty.

Now let us take the inscription of Sivadeva I, the king who refers to Aṁéuvarman. In the Bhâtgaon writ of the year 316[2] (Gupta Era) of Sivadeva, Aṁéuvarman is highly praised and described as a great conqueror (प्रख्याता-मलविपुलपराक्रमप्रशमितामितविपक्ष-प्रभांयेन), and "to honour

[1] **See CAI, XIII; Walsh, JRAS., 1908, p. 669.**

[2] **See Fleet, G I, p. 178 *(Intro.)* on the date; IA, XIV. 97; Bandall *(Journey.)***

his request" (एतद्गौरवात्) the privilège was granted to the village. Evidently hère Aṁéuvarman is not treated in reality as a subordinate but as an equal sovereign whose request was to be respected and a privilège granted to a village in Sivadeva's part of Népal on the recommendation of Améuvarman. Sivadeva's inscription at Buddha Nilkantha[1], wherein the date is now missing, shows still more pointedly that more honour and fuller royal honour is accorded to Aṁéuvarman than to Sivadeva himself. Aṁéuvarman's great and complète successes in war (यथानेक-पृथुसमरसम्पात-विजयाधिगत-शौर्य्यप्रतापाहृत-सकल शत्रुपक्ष-प्रभावेन,) and his success in kingship (सम्यक् प्रजा-पालन-परिश्रमोपार्जित-शुभ्रयशोभिव्याप्तदिग्मण्डलेन) are so prominendy described that it seems certain that Aṁéuvarman was treated as king in thèse inscriptions of Sivadeva. Although Aṁéuvarman was ruling over the 'West', as guessed by Fleet and now confirmed by the Mañjuérî Impérial History (p. 20), he was practically the real sovereign of Népal and the position of Sivadeva had been reduced to that of a nominal, courtesy king of the 'East.'[2] Thus in the Gupta year 316=635 A. D.

[1] IA, IX. 168.

[2] He acts as Dictator in the Eastem part of the kingdom, and as sovereign in the Western part. The grant of privilège to the village of Kurppâsï which is to the E. of Bhatgaon is made 'with the king's approvaP by Aṁéuvarman himself, who had dispelled ignorance by the rays of his own virtues, had established welfare by his dévotion to Lord Bhava (Siva), and had uprooted the whole lot of enemies by the strength of his own arms [विदितमस्तु वो यथानेन स्वगुणमणिमयूखालोक-ध्वस्ताज्ञान-

A ṁ é u v a r m a n was a fu̇ll sovereign, and that he had been so for some time. This position he had assumed with his inscription and grants of the year 30, whereby he fixes salaries and allowances for his royal officers. His référence to his coronation horse and his coronation éléphants evidently means the animais of the time of his coronation as *mahà-sâmanta,* as there is no indication in the proclamation of any subséquent or récent coronation. His year 30 must be counted from his coronation as mahâ-sâmanta. This year 30 being the year of assumption of his ruling powers, must, précède 63 5 A. D. the date in S i v a-d e v a F s panegyric of A ṁ é u v a r m a n .

III.—CONFUSION IN THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF VAMSAVALI EXPLAINED.

The Vaṁéâvalïs note in the first place the M â n a d e v a whom we know to hâve flourished after A ṁ é u v a r m a n , and whose date is known from the inscriptions (GI, 189, I.)[1]; but the Vaṁéâvalïs by a confusion register two Mânadevas *before*

तिमिरेण भगवद्भवपाद-पङ्कजप्रणामानुष्ठानतात्पर्य्योपात्तायतिहितश्रेयसा स्वभुजयुगबलोत्खाताखिलवैरिवर्गेण श्रीमहासामन्तांशुवर्म्मणा]

[1] **About one Mânadeva who flourished in the Lichchhavi dynasty we hâve it on the basis of inscriptions that he was the son 01 D h a r m a d e v a , grandson of S a ṅ k a r a d e v a , and great-grandson of V r̥ i s h a d e v a , and that he lived *c.* 705-733 A. D. (IA, I X . 163; G I . I, 182; the Changu Narayan Pillar inscription which Mânadeva, himself dated 386 = 705 A. D; IA, I X . 166; the Paéupatinath Temple inscription of the reign of Mânadeva, dated 413 = 732-33 A. D.; IA, I X . 178 : insc. of J a y a d e v a II of the year 15 3 at Paéupati Temple mentioning M â n a d e v a in the genealogy giving his descendants M a h ï d e v a and V a s a n t a d e v a , son and grandson).**

Aṁéuvarman. If we look into the list [in IA, XIII 412] we find that Mânadeva is first placed after Dharmadeva, two steps above Vasantadeva, which is his correct position in the inscriptions. Then the name is reported (as No. 25) *once more* after Vasantadeva (no. 23) and Udayadevavarman (no. 24) and one step above Sivadeva (no. 27), predecessor of Arhéuvarman. We hâve évidence for the existence of this second Mânadeva. According to the inscription of Jishṇu Gupta at Thankot[1] a Mânadeva who was not a Lichchhavi, ruled as the sovereign *(Bhaṭṭâraka)* of Jishṇu Gupta. According to the Mañjuérï History, Udayadeva succeeded Aṁéuvarma and was succeeded by Jishṇu Gupta. This is correct, as Udayadeva is *Yuvarâja* of Aṁéuvarman in his inscription. Udayadeva came after Aṁéuvarman, and not before him. After the list—Vṛishadeva to Vasantadeva—which agrées literally with that in the Vamsàvalîs, the inscription of Jayadeva II gives, as unconnected with the above in the direct line, (1) Udayadeva, (2) Ṅarendradeva, Narendradeva's son (3) Sivadeva II and the latter's son (4) Jayadeva II (inscription dated 153 = 748 A. D.) Against this the Vaṁéâvalïs hâve two différent data :

[1] Lévi, *Le Népal,* iii. 104.

(1) *IA*, xiii. 413; Levi, ii. 92, 112	(2) *Kirkpatrickfs* Vaṁéâvali
24. Udayadeva, son of 23.	
25. Mânadeva varman son of 24	
26. Guṇakâmadeva varman, sonof 25	
27. Sivadeva varman, son of 26, made Devapàṭana his capital	
28. Narendradeva varman son of 27	
29. Bhïmadevavarman, son of 28	**28. Bhïmadevavarman-In his reign the Ahîr Dynasty of the Guptas restored, who were**
30. Vishṇudeva varman, son of 29	**29. Vishṇu Gupta**
31. Visvadevavarman, son of 30	**30. Krishṇa Gupta**
[Viéva Gupta— Lévis' *V.]* father-in-law of Aṁéuvarman.	**31. Bhûmi Gupta**
	New Dynasty
	32. Sivadeva varman *expelled the Guptas and restored the Sûrya-varhĪts*
***New Dynasty* : Ṭhâkurïs**	
32. Arhéuvarman	**33. Arhéuvarman**

It is évident that Kirkapatrick's Vaṁśàvalï hère accords with the facts known from inscriptions that Sivadeva P] who is said to hâve restored the Sûryavarhéîs (i.e., the Lichchhavi dynasty, supposed to be a branch of the Ikshvàkus—*SûryavaṁJa*[1]) was followed by Arhéuvarman. It inserts Vishṇu Gupta *(yarwâ* of other VarhSâvalïs), Krishṇa Gupta, etc. before Sivadeva I, as interlopers. They, as a dynasty, are called "the Guptas," and Ahîrs by

[1] See IA, IX. 178, inscr. of Jayadeva II, where descent is traced from Sùrya.

caste. They were the Later Guptas of Népal[1] and evidently they claimed suzerainty. They are not in the line of the Lichchhavis. 'Bhïmavarma' is also described as 'Bhïma Gupta' in an earlier list of "the Guptas" wherein Harsha Gupta, Vishṇu Gupta and Jaya Gupta (as the last) also figure (Lévi, ii 73)[2]. Thèse are ail Later Guptas. Jaya Gupta is known from his coins of *c*. 600 A. D.[3] Excluding this list of the Gupta interlopers—Bhîma (28 or 29), Vishṇu (30 or 29), Kṛishna and Viévaor Bhùmî (31 or 30)—we get the Vaṁéàvalî list as

1. Udayadeva
2. Mânadeva
3. Guṇakama deva
4. Sivadeva
5. Narendradeva
6. Sivadeva
7. Aṁéuvarman

In the light of the inscriptions, the succession is

Udayadeva
|
Narendradeva
1
Sivadeva (II)

We know the time of Sivadeva II, as he was the father of Jayadeva II who dates his inscription in 153 (748 A. D.). This Sivadeva thus

[1] See below.

[2] The List of the Guptas is given in two places, once in the beginning where Népal history begins and then under the Lichchhavis, in its proper setting. See below.

[3] CMI, II, 3; CIM, p. 121. See below.

will not be the Sivadeva contemporary of Aṁéuvarman, and has been righriy designated by Fleet as *Sivadeva IL* The Vaṁéâvalïs hence hâve fallen into a confusion in putting Aṁéuvarman below Sivadeva II owing to the identity of the names of the earlier Sivadeva [I] and the later Sivadeva [II]. The Vaṁéâvalïs hâve copied two independent lists :

I	II
Udayadeva	Sivadeva I
Narendradeva	Aṁéuvarman
Sivadeva II	

In the second list which is certainly of earlier kings they had two more names above Sivadeva I—namely Mânadeva I and Guṇakâmadeva. That list of earlier kings will thus be :

Mânadeva
Guṇakâmadeva
Sivadeva I
Aṁéuvarman[1]

Was there, then, an earlier Mânadeva, a Mânadeva I, *who flourished before Sivadeva I and Aṁéuvarman, and was he succeeded by a Guṇakâmadeva?*

According to the inscriptions there is no room for *Guṇakâmadeva* either in the succession later than Sivadeva I, as Mânadeva of Jayadeva's inscription was succeeded by Mahîdeva, his son, who was succeeded by his son Vasanta-

[1] **Sec further discussion below.**

deva (also called Vasantasena). There is also no toom for a *Guṇakàmadeva* in the other list biginning with Udayadeva which the inscriptions of Jayadeva II and Jishṇu Gupta fix as *Udaya-deva—[Mânadeva]—Narendradeva—Sivadeva II—Jaja-deva IL* As we shall see below there is no room for a *Guṇakàmadeva* to corne in between *Udayadeva* and his son *Narendradeva.* Hère coins help us. The *Mânâṅka* and *Guṇàṅka* coins are twins, one follows the other. We hâve thus the most positive évidence for the existence of Guṇa (kâma) deva.[1] *Mânadeva,* predecessor of *Guṇakàmadeva* has to corne earlier than Aṁéuvarman and Sivadeva I.

Let us see if we hâve any other proof for the existence of a Mânadeva I, that is, a Mânadeva *before* Sivadeva I.

IV.—MÂNADEVA I.

There is good évidence for the existence of an earlier Mânadeva, earlier than Aṁéuvarman, who should be called Mânadeva I. Aṁéuvarman himself mentions a *'Mànagṛiha* gâte' to his palace, a god *Mânesvara,* a vihâra *Mâna-vihâra.* Sivadeva I issues his charter from *Mânagṛiha.* This would show that there was a Mânadeva before Aṁéuvarman and Sivadeya I.

This is again confirmed by the Mañjuérï Impérial History (p. 20).[2] It introduces the Lichchhavi line

[1] The style *Mânânka* and *Gunànka* has been imitated from the Gupta coin legend *Vikramâṅka* of Chandra Gupta I and other Guptas (*Cf.* *Garudamadanka* and *Parâkramânka* of Samudra Gupta. Lévi, ii 108.)

[2] See extract below, § VI.

with *Mânavadeva* which has been rightly taken by Lévi to be a mistake for *Mânadeva.* He is placed there definitely before Vṛishadeva and as his predecessor. In the Vaṁśâvalï there is no *Mânavadeva* above Vṛishadeva. Vṛishadeva's time is about 650 A. D. (G. L, p. 189, *Intro.).* The whole succession of 6 générations, from Vṛishadeva to Vasantadeva II, is one from father to son. Vasanta dates his charter in 415[1] (G. E. = 734 A. D.). The inscriptions of Vṛishadeva's great grandson Mânadeva are[2] dated 705-732 A.D. Vṛishadeva came to the throne some time after Sivadeva I. In the genealogyof the Vaṁśâvalïs we hâve this order:

16 Sivadeva varman (Lévi's *V,* ii. 92).
17 Rudradeva varman
18 Vṛishadeva varman (L A., XIII. 412).

Hère it is évident that the *Sivadeva* I of the inscriptions is the *Siva (deva) varman* of the Vaṁśâvalîs. *Rudravarman* is omitted in some Vaṁśâvalïs (Lévi, ii. 92), probably he is the same as *Dhruvadeva* of the inscription of Jishṇu Gupta under whom Jishṇu-Gupta grants privilèges (I. A., IX. 171).

Exact Date of Mânadeva I

We hâve now, thanks to the researches of my revered and learned friend the Râjaguru Sri 6 Pandit Hemaràja Sarmâ, CLE., a material on the exact date of this Mânadeva, Le., Mânadeva I has come to light. It is contained in a

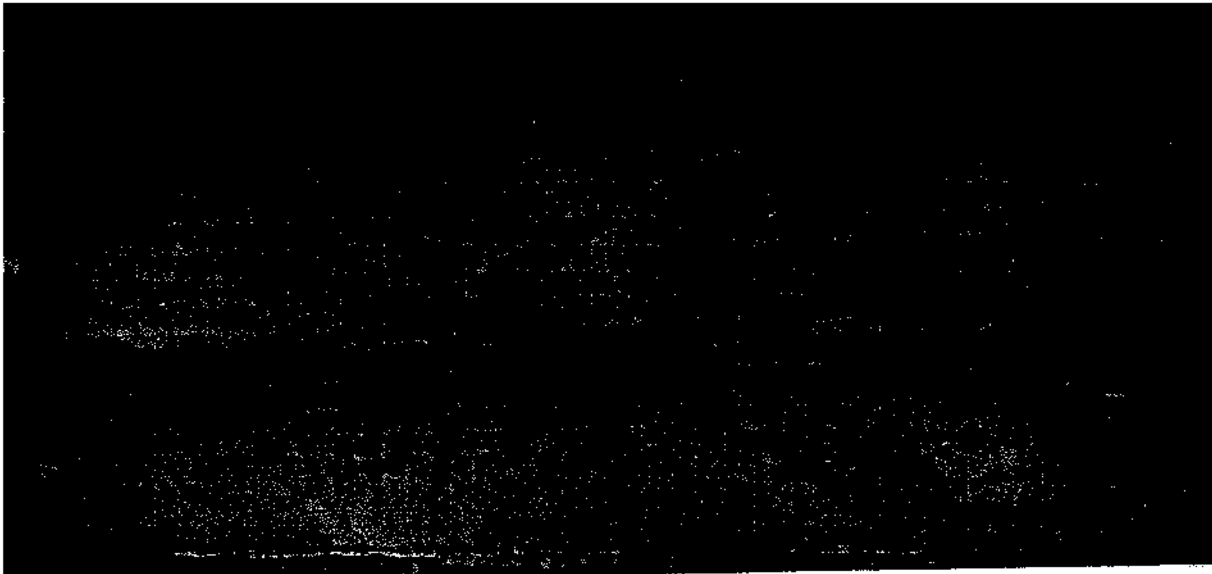
[1] See below, the date is 415, not 435 as read by Bhagwanlal Indraji (LA., IX. 167).
[2] LA., IX. 163, 166; Fleet, G.I., J., 182.

palm-leaf manuscript which gives his date as équivalent of 576 A. D. The Ràjaguru, when he gave me his datum, was of opinion that this Mânadeva for whom he supplied the date from the manuscript was the Mânadeva of the inscription of Changu Nàrâyan and that it proved a Mânadeva Era which was the era used by Aṁéuvarman. While I do not accept those views on account of Mânadeva's (IIFs)[1] dated inscriptions at Changu Nâràyan and Paéupatinâth and the other dated inscriptions discussed above and the cross-checks for Aṁéuvarman's years, I gratefully utilise the datum in establishing the time of an earlier Mânadeva, Mânadeva I.

There is a manuscript of a book on Hindu Astronomy called *Sumati-tantra*, which belongs to the State Library of Népal. The manuscript is in characters what are locally known as the *Gomo lipi*. From its script the date of the palm-leaf manuscript would be the 12th century. I reproduce the pages from a photograph very kindly given to me for that purpose by the learned Râjaguruji. I am tolḍ by that scholar that, in the body of the work, in giving examples of calculations the author uses as a pivot the équivalent of the Christian year 576. This would indicate that the author lived very near that date. The author by a chronogram which is contained in the first folio photographed gives the following chronology in verses in Sanskrit of the type of the *Manjuirt-mûla-kalpa* and other Buddhist works. Thèse verses I

[1] **Mânadeva II is the Mânadeva of Jishṇu Gupta's insc.**

Leaves of the Sumati-tantra



reproduce below from the photograph. Beginning with the Kali Era, Le. 3102 B.C., '*the reign of Yudhîshṭhira and Duryodhana?* the author roundly puts 2000 years for the pre-Nanda period and 800 years more for the pre-Chandragupta (Maurya) period. He gives further 132 years to the Maurya kingdom; then 247 years to that of Sûdraka, that is, the Sàtav;âhanas. This brings us to the era of Saka. Then there is an interval of 498 years. On the next page, a subséquent annotator has noted at the end that this interval of 498 brings the chronology to the reign of Mânadeva, and the kingdom of Mânadeva is brought down by 304 years i.e., down to the Népal Era. The initial year of the Népal Era falls in 879-880 A. D. (the year beginning on the ist Kârttika Sudi—*G.I.*, Intro. 74). 498 years before it will take us to 576 A. D. as the year of Mânadeva I. Knowing as we do the initial year of Saka—78 A.D., 498 years after it brings us to the same year (78+ 498 =) 576 A.D. Thèse three dates are the only definite dates which the Népal astronomers—the author of the *Sumati-tantra* (the *'Sumati System')* and the annotator—knew : the Saka era, and the initial year of Mânadeva I, and the Népal Era. The annotator could calculate it from both the eras if he knew the correct interval from either. In the 12th century when the book was copied it is very likely that the astronomers of Népal knew the correct date of Mânadeva I. I hâve myself seen a number of hand-written books in possession of the Râjaguru which are note-books of the past centuries of Népal astronomers, recording chief contemporary events,

made and left as heirlooms, for future use by their successors. Documents four and three hundred years old both on paper and palm-leafs are commonplace in Népal families even today. I found one family possessing two hundred palm-leaf sale-deeds of the time of the Malla dynasty. They bear the original royal seals intact,[1] I saw a whole book—a long paper-roll folded as pages—which was originally written in 721 N.E = 1601 A, D. by the builder of the M a h à b o d h i temple at Bhatgaon, noting in full the description of the process of building the temple as a guide for future repairs. The book is being used today for repairing the damages caused by the earthquake of 1934. The habit of valuing old records and the climate are both in favour of this fortunate circumstance. It is thus reasonable to suppose that the annotator of the *Sumati-tantra* actually had reliable records before him for the date of M â n a d e v a l .

The chronology before the Saka Era is not reliable, but its dates about C h a n d r a g u p t a M a u r y a and the dynasty of S û d r a k a (Simuka = Sûdraka Sâtavàhana) are interesting, being very near the true marks.

[1] Three of thèse I hâve brought and deposited at the Patna Muséum. We hâve discovered in British India thousands of sealings of Hindu times but not a single example of a document with a sealing attached. Now we can see from the Népal documents, discovered for the first time, how the seals were actually attached to documents by the royal office. They were clay (unbaked) sealings of a very cementing composition. A strip 01 palm-leaf tied the document after the fashion of inserting strips of leather in our leather shoes and then the joint was sealed. I hope to publish thèse examples in this Journal.

The text is as follows :—

L2.)·······यातास्तथा युगाना(÷)वा कृत मन्ता(?)य द्वापरं।
भविष्यं संप्रवक्ष्यामि कालिकं वा यथाक्रमं।
जातो दुर्योधनो राजा कलि (. .) (L3.) प्रवर्त्तते।
युधिष्ठिरो महाराजो दुर्योधनस्तथाऽपि वा।
उभौ राजौ सहस्रे द्वे वर्षन्तु सम्प्रवर्त्तति।
नन्दराज्यं शताष्टं वा चन्द्रगुप्तस्ततो पर (म्)।
L4.)राज्यङ्करोति तेनापि द्वात्रिंशच्चाधिकं शतम्।
राजा शूद्रकदेवश्च वर्षसप्ताब्धिचाश्विनौ।
शकराजा ततो पश्चाद्वसुरन्ध्रकृतस्तथा।
इत्येते (भा)(L5.)वितं मह्यां ज्ञेया राजा क्रमेणतु
....

[*Note*]·········युधिष्ठिर दुर्योधन उभौ राज्याब्द २०००[,]नन्द राज्याब्द ८००[,]चन्द्रगुप्त राज्याब्द १३२[,]शूद्रकदेव राज्याब्द······शक राज्याब्द ४९८[,]मानदेवस्य राज्याब्द ३०४[.] शुभम्

The translation is :

(Line 3) Duryodhana was born in Kali.

Yudhishṭhira and Duryodhana : *"the two kings last for* 2000*years."*

"Nanda's kingdom (râjya) lasts for 800 years"

"Chandragupta is a/ter that. He also rules for 132 *years"*

"The king Sûdrakafor 7, 4 *(abdhi)* and 2 *{aivinau)* (Le. for 247) *years.*

"After that, similarly, king Saka, 8, 9, 4 (that is, for 498)*years"*

For the *Nanda-râjya,* it gives the year (3102 B. C.—2000 ==) 1102 B. c, and for the beginning of the Maurya kingdom it gives (1102-800 =) 302 B. C, for the Sâtavàhana kingdom, (302-132 =) 170 B. C, and for the Saka kingdom, (247-170 =) 77 A. D.

(elapsed) i.e. 78 A. D. The dates for the commencement of the Maurya kingdom and the Sâtavâhana kingdom are short by about 22 years each. The year for the commencement of the Nanda-Ràjya is hopelessly wide ofîF the mark.

It is clear that the author of the chronology took chief reigns as land-marks, and not always eras. There were Yudhishṭhira, Nanda, and Saka Eras, but there was no Chandragupta Era, there was no Sûdraka Era. There is no trace of an Era of Mânadeva I, for we find Sivadeva I the Lichchhavi using not a récent era but the Gupta Era in 635 A. D. Nor could the Era of Aṁéuvarman be a Mânadeva Era, commencing from 576 A. D., for in that case Aṁéuvarman must be dead in (576 + 48 =) 624 A. D. but he was alive in 635 A. D. (the date of Sivadeva Fs inscription and later (see above). Evidendy the author was a contemporary of Mânadeva I and used his coronation year for his calculations.

We are on firm ground in taking 576 A. D. as the first year of Mânadeva I, as it receives corroboration not only from the script on the *Mânâṅka* coin, which Dr. V. Smith assigned to the 6th century A.D. (C. I. M., p. 281) but also from the dates of Vṛishadeva and Sivadeva I, before-whom Mânadeval must corne.

Another copy of the *Sumati-tantra* is in the British Muséum Library. It is a palm leaf manuscript dated in Népal Era, 476 (1356 A.D.). The copy is much later than the one to which référence is made above. With its help we hâve to read *Kali-sandhyam* in our Une 2. It reads *iatâshtaṇcha* against *sạtâshṭam va*

(Une 3) of my manuscript[1]. While thèse are minor improvements, the two important figures for *Sûdraka* and Saka-râjâ are clearly wrong in the British Muséum copy which reads राजा शूद्रक देवश्च वर्ष सप्ता द्वि चाश्विनौ
in place of „ „ „ „ बिध „
and शक राजा ततो पश्चाद्वसु चन्द्र कृतन्तथा,
in place of „ „ „ „ रन्ध्र „

Thèse two figures would date the Saka era twenty years earlier than its true date which the other manuscript gives correctly. The interval between Saka and Mânadeva, read by it as of 418 years as against 498, is proved to be wrong by the next interval of 304 years which brings the chronology to 880 A.D., the beginning of the Népal Era. The British Muséum MS. will put Mânadeva at 496 A.D. (418—78 A.D.) or at 476 A. D. taking its other mistake (of 20 years placing Saka at 58 A.D.). The last interval of 304 will then bring the chronology to 800 A. D. or 780 A. D., that is, there will be a discrepancy of 80 or 100 years. The two mistakes in the British Muséum copy are produced by simple misreadings in Népal scripts: *dvi* (द्वि) for *bdh*(बिध)\ and *chanc*(चन्द्र)]l for *randhra* (रन्ध्र).

The British Muséum copy has a prose Une after the text ending with *kramena tu* which is not to be found in the older manuscript—

सेषा युताश्च कृत अम्बराग्नि ३०४ श्रीमानदेवाब्द —प्रयुज्यमाना एतानि पिण्डकलिवर्षमाहुः ॥

[1] *Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the British Muséum* by Cecil Bendall, (1902), pp. 193-94, 467. No. 3564. Although the opening passage quoted gives the name as *Sumati-tantra*, it is wrongly catalogued as *Sumata.*

"The rest (of the kings), added together, employ the year (era ?) of Mànadeva for 304 (years)—thèse years are called the collective Kali reckoning."

Dr. Bendall, not following the chronology of the text, added the figure 418 (after Saka) to 304 and obtained 800 A. D. as the date of Mànadeva, while Mànadeva begins, according to the System followed in the chronology, when the 498 or 418 period after Saka ends.

V.—LICHCHHAVI KINGS

The complète list of the Lichchhavi kings as in the Vaṁéàvalïs may be divided in three parts.

I

Serial numbers according to the order in the Vaṁśāvalis. (I.A., XIII. 412; Lévi, ii. 91-92, 122).	Names noted in Jayadeva II's inscription.	And other inscriptions.
[1]1.	Bhūmivarman (capital at Bāṇeśvara).	Names Nos. 1,2, 4-16 purposely omitted in Jayadeva II's insc. (I.A., IX. 178).

[1] **Kirkpatrick's authority gives five more names to this dynasty which is unanimously called Sûrya-Varhéï. Thèse five names are given separately by the Vaṁéàvalïs, other than Kirkpatrick's, under Somavaṁéï Dynasty. This is a wrong division, as the Vaṁéàvalïs themselves note the connexion between Bhâskaravarman (no. 5 and the last) of the so called *Soma vaṁia* and Bhûmivarman (no. 1 of the Sùryavarhéa) as that of adoptive father and son. How could then the Varhéa change ?**

2.	Chandravarman	
3.	*Jayadeva*[1] 1	Jayadeval according to J.II's insc. he was founder of the Nepal dynasty. An earlier king *Supushpa* is noted as having flourished at Pushpapura; "omitting 23 Kings" there cornes Jayadeva I *'the victorious?* Then *omiitingin the interval eieven kings,* there cornes the 12th according to the inscription but the 18th Vrishadeva, according to the Varhs'àvalïs Sivadeva I [3] (LA., IX.)
4.	Varsha-varman [Vṛishavarman I K.]	
5.	Sarva-varman	
6.	Pṛithvi-varman	
7.	Jyeshṭha-varman	
8.	Hari-varman	
9.	Kuvera-varman	
10.	Siddhi-varman	
11.	Haridatta (built 4 Nârâyana Temples including Changu Narayan and Nïlakaṇṭha Jalaéayana[2] Temples)	
12.	Vasudatta	
13.	Srïpati	
14.	Sivavṛiddhi-(varman)	
15.	*Vasantadeva I*	Dhruvadeva
16.	éivadeva I	LA., IX. 173

[1] *'Jayavarma'* in the Vaméàvalïs which hâve throughout for nos. 1 to 14 name-ending *varman.* Kirkpatrick's Varhéâvalï has *deva* from no. 15 onwards, while other copies occasionally add *varman* to *deva.* Inscriptions hâve always *deva,* I hâve foliowed generally K.'s list for name-forms. His copy is the oldest and more valuable.

[2] *Ja/a/ayana,* a colossal, lying figure of Vishṇu, is a magnificent stone image in Gupta style.

[3] LA., XIV. 97 (Bendall); LA., IX. 168 (Bhagwanlal Indraji); Lévi, iii, 61, D/?/tf>4?-Bhogavarmagomin, mentioning the request of Amêuvarman; the date is wholly gone. Prof. Lévi insists on reading ail figures in Sivadeva's records as 500 (+) instead of 300 (+) as read by Bhagwanlal Indraji, Bendall and Fleet. The last record has no trace of the date, yet he secs hère also 500. The reading 300 (+) is corroborated by the figures in records of subséquent kings—of Mânadeva II, Vasantasena, etc. (386, 413, 435) (G.I., J. 180) and by the new, Khopasi, insc. of Sivadeva I published by Lévi himself (iii. 79) where his plate (XII) reads clearly 300 (+20). This also mentions Arhéuvarman.

II

17.	Rudradeva[1] (givenby some and omitted byK.)		
18.	Vṛishadeva II (a notedBuddhist pious founder)	(12) Vṛishadeva	Vṛishadeva LA., IX. 163
19.	Saṅkaradeva [Revival of Saivism (erected a trident at Paéupati)[2]	(13) Saṅkaradeva	Sankaradeva
20.	Dharmadeva	(14) Dharmadeva	
21.	Mânadeva	(15) Mânadeva	Dharmadeva
22.	Mahïdeva	(16) Mahïdeva	
23.	Vasantadeva II	(17) Vasantadeva	Mânadeva
			Vasantasena

Jayadeva II omits the first two names of the list and he counts 17 as against (23-2) 20 successions[3] down to Vasantadeva IL There are therefore 3 extra names in the V. list, or, rather 5 if we transpose Mânadeva and Guṇakâmadeva from the part III (see below, and § IV above). Thèse extra names fall between no. 3 Jayadeva I, and no. 18 Vṛishadeva, the later names being confirmed by inscriptions. And as the existence of nos. 16 and 17 (Dhruvadeva) is certain from contemporary records, the excess has to be adjusted between no. 3 and no. 15 taking account of Mânadeva I

[1] Lévi, ii. 92, 95-96, regards him as identical with Sivadeva and thinks that the name is transposed from the Malla list.

[2] The trident is still existing. The big métal Nandi, attributed to him by some Vaṁéâvalîs to his son, is also still there.

[3] The Vaméâvalîs regard the successions as from father to son in each case, which is to be ignored uniess confirmed by the évidence of inscriptions or contemporary writers.

and Guṇakâmadeva. According to the inscription of Jayadeva II and the évidence on Mânadeva I and Guṇakâmadeva the kings hâve to be numbered thus:

1. Jayadeva I *(c.* 350 A.D.)

2-7. Six kings (which should include Haridâtta, see below), against 11 of the Vaṁśâvalîs

8. Vasantadeva I

9. Mânadeva I, 576 A.D. (see § IV)

10. Guṇakâmadeva

11. Sivadeva I—635-639 A.D. (Khopasi insc. 320 G. E.)

11a. Dhruvadeva *c.* 643 A.D. (Jishṇu Gupta's insc. of yr. 48) not taken into account probably owing to his being an unlawful successor

12. Vṛishadeva

13. Saṅkaradeva

14. Dharmadeva, 705 A.D.

15. Mânadeva II, 705, 732 A.D.

16. Mahïdeva

17. Vasantadeva II, 735 A.D. [G.E. 415[1]; dead in 732 A.D., yr. 153, *âsit]*

Out of Nos. 4 to 14 of the Vaṁśâvalïs (wherein the extra five names mustfall), Haridatta, no. 11, must be a correct name. Vaishṇavism was introduced into his reign and his Vaishṇava monuments can still be identified. Although the présent temple of Chaṅgu Ṇârâyan is much later but that the shrine must go back to about his time is proved by the inscription

[1] **The reading of the figure is 415, not 435; cf. plate 2 in** LA., IX, with plate 3.

of Mânadeva II on the dhvaja standard at Chaṅgu-nârâyan, which is in early Gupta style[1], and, by the grand Jalaéayana figure at Nïlakaṇṭha which is again typically Guptan, and which is mentioned by Aṁéuvarman in his Harigaon inscription of year 32.2 As to the other names we hâve at présent no means to check and to accept or reject. But there should be a presumption of correctness in their favour, as a very high percentage of data in the lists of the Vaṁéâvalïs is proved to be correct. The number of 11 princes of the list as against 6 out of the unnamed 11 of the inscription of Jayadeva II means that between Jaya-deva I and Vasantadeva I (no. i to 8 of my list above) the first eight kings, there were two contemporary Unes ruling as in the later period. This system of double rule seems to hâve been borrowed from the home constitution of the Lichchhavis of Vaiśâlî.

The Vaṁéâvalîs after their no. 23 présent a great confusion, which has been already solved with the help of the inscriptions to some extent, and the solution can be carried further with the help of new data.

III

This portion of the so-called Lichchhavi list I am marking as part III. The list is a mixture of the names of the EARLY ṬHÀKURl Dynasty with some names of the Lichchhavis transposed and

[1] **It is also mentioned by Aṁéuvarman at Harigaon (Lévi, iii. 94).**

[2] **Lines 14-15 (Lévi, iii. 95).**

names of one more dynasty, 'Gupta-Ahïr', that is, the Later Guptas of Népal (see § 6—7).

Vamîâvalï list

Kirkpatrick, 260; Bhagwanlal Indraji, 13I.A. 413. Wright, 124—130; Lévi, ii. 92, 122.

24. Udayadeva
25. Mânadeva
26. Guṇakâmdeva
27. *Sivadeva* ('transferred the seat of government to Devapâṭana')
28. Narendradeva
29. Bhîmadeva varman

According to K's V., Gupta Dynasty of Ahîr caste:

30. Vishṇu gupta (K) (Vishṇudeva varman—others)
31. Viśva Gupta (Visva varman—others) gave his daughter in marriage to *Aṁhwarman*, founder of the Ṭhâkurî Dynasty. K's *Vaṁ*. gives after no. 30—
31. Kishnu Gupta
32. Bhûmi Gupta

3 3. Sivadeva expelled the Guptas; and restored the Sûryavaṁéî (the Lichchhavi) dynasty (K.)

Aṁéuvarman [595—539 + (?) A.D.]

Against this we hâve the following succession from inscriptions (LA., IX. 170, 174, 178).

[Vaṁ.] Inscriptions

[24.] Udayadeva, (*Ynvarâja* in yr. 39) deposed by his younger brother (Chinese History).

[25.] Mânadeva (III) (evidently brother of 24, as 27 Narendradeva, restored by Tibetans, was son of 24).

[28.] Narendradeva [ruling from 634 to 657, according to Chinese (Thang) History].

[29.] *Sivadeva II,,* yr. 119.

Jayadeva II, yr. 15 3 (Vaṁéàvalïs omit him).

The order in V. between 27 and 28 is transposed, and Guṇakâmadeva is brought down from below Mânadeva I (above Sivadeva I) to be placed below no. 25 Mânadeva III, above Sivadeva IL

Thèse are ail later than Aṁéuvarman whose last date in inscriptions in the year 44 (or 45). Thèse are ail, as we shall see presently, Ṭhâkurï names. Jayadeva II, son of Narendradeva, is neither in the Ṭhâkurï list nor the Lichchhavi list of the Vaṁéàvalïs. The reason for this is explained in the Ṭhâkurï section. Aṁéuvarman has been placed in the V. list after Sivadeva II who lived about the year 119. There is fortunately only one Aṁéuvarman and we easily detect the mistake. There hâve been two mistakes. No. 25 and 26 hâve been removed from their place above Sivadeva I to be placed, above Sivadeva IL Aṁéuvarman's history is transferred to the time of Sivadeva II from Sivadeva I which is évident from K/s copy. In the eighteenth century, Vaṁéâvalï copies still preserved the close association of the history of Sivadeva I and Aṁéuvarman, and Kirkpatrick's copy for that reason introduced even a third Sivadeva (no. 33). But later éditions noting (correctly) only two Sivadevas, eut Aṁéuvarman ofFfrom Sivadeva altogether owing to their insertion of several names (nos. 30, 31,

32) above Aṁéuvarman's, which fortunatly for us Kirkpatrick's copy specially notes as names of an intervening family who were defeated by S i v a-d e v a I. That S i v a d e v a II can not be a con-temporaryof A r h é u v a r m a n i s clear from the dated inscription of Sivadeva II (of the year 119) and from the date of his father known to us from Chinese History based on contemporary writings.

Now as to the "Guptas" who were expelled by S i v a d e v a I according to Kirkpatrick's Vaṁéà-valï, is there any trace of theirs in the inscriptions ?

Thèse Guptas seem to be the ancestors of J i s h ṇ u G u p t a whose inscriptions we hâve as nos. 9,10, and 11 of Bhagwanlal Indraji (I.A., IX. 171, 173). A new inscription of his is published by Lévi *(Népal,* iii. 102, pi. XVII; T h a n k o t inscription). The last one bears the date (saṁvat) 44(40 + 4)[1] the figure for 40 is distinct (Une 3oth). The writ was dated while *Bhaṭṭâraka* (Sovereign) S r i M â n a-d e v a [II] was *'the banner of the enthroned family*[9] at M â n a g r i h a ; it was issued by S r i j i s h ṇ u G u p t a D e v a from K a i l â s a k û ṭ a b h a v a n a[2].

[1] **It is difiicult to imagine how could Prof. Lévi read 500 ! I am giving an enlarged copy of the portion (beginning of Une 30) from his plate. See my plate VII.**

[2] ***Kailâsakû/a* was the seat of the Dictator, and *Mânagṛiha* was the seat of the nominal king. Aṁéuvarman built this famous Palace K a i l à s a k ù ṭ a , of which he is very proud in his Sanga insc. (Lévi, iii 99). His family after him ruled from it (we hâve référence to it in inscriptions down to the time of S i v a-d e v a II (9I.A. 174), while the Lichchhavis lived at their Palace M â n a g ṛ i h a , (G.1,J, 188-189) built evidently by M â n a-d e v a I (576 A.D.—) as Aṁéuvarman named one of the gâtes of his own palace after *Mânagriha.* In this inscription we hâve the novel position that M â n a d e v a (II), a younger son of**

It confirmée! a donation, the document of which had been lost; it was orginally made by the great grand-father *(prapitâmaha)* of Jishṇu Gupta, whose name was Mânagupta Gomin. It refers to certain taxes payable in kârshâpaṇas and one of the taxes was *Malla-kara.* This had been evidently imposed to meet the incursions of the Mallas which were put an end to by Mânadeva III who in his Chaṅgu Nârâyan inscription says that he crossed the Gaṇḍakï with his cavalry and éléphants and con-querred the Malla towns (Lévi, iii, 14)[1].

Mânagupta Gomin must hâve been a subordinate ruler having Thankot, i.e. the beginning of the valley, under his jurisdiction. The title *gomin* meant in Gupta times *'honourable'*

Arhéuvarman and a younger brother of Udayadeva (§ IX) is installed by Jishṇu Gupta (who calls himself 'king,' *'dava')* at Mânagriha and he himself takes his résidence at Kailâsakûṭa. This shows that Kailâsakûṭa was the officiai seat of the officiai Dictator.

For the time being by the above arrangement the Lich-chhavi Dynasty was wholly dispossessed on the death of Aṁéuvarman. But this was only for a year or so, for soon after we find the Lichchhavi king Dhruvadeva at Mânagṛiha once more during the Dictatorship of Jish-ṇu Gupta. Jishṇu Gupta in both cases was the real ruler, and although the Varhéâvalïs ignore him, heis noted as king by the Mañjuérï History (§ VI).

The family emblem of the Tïṁkurïs was Nandi seated on Kailâsakûṭa—see plate 12, I.A, IX.

The latest mention of Mânagṛiha is found in the Isapaligaon inscription of the year 489—808 A.D. published by Lévi in his volume iii, pi. VIII, p. 59. [This inscription, where the writing is distinctly much advanced, most effectively des-troys the theory of Lévi to read the date figures in Sivadeva I's inscriptions as 500 + , instead of 300 + as read by Bhagwanlal and confirmed by Fleet and Bendall].

[1] This text (Unes 22-25) was recovered from the buried portion of the pillar, not available to Bhagwanlal Indraji.

and is used as a name-ending in respectable names—e.g. *Chandra gomin*, the Gramcnarian, *Bhogavarmagomin* in Aṁśuvarman's inscription. M â n a G u p t a i s not described as a king, or given any title. The two générations before J i s h ṇ u G u p t a would cover the two names V i s h ṇ u G u p t a (no. 30) and V i â v a G u p t a (31), the latter being the father-in-law of Aṁéuvar-man, whoseplace inK,'s Vaṁs. is given to B h ù m i - G u p t a (32). V i e v a G u p t a and B h ù mi - G u p t a were the last of the Népal Guptas, and S i v a d e v a I defeated them and "restored" the Lichchhavi dynasty. Evidently the Lichchhavi dynasty had sufl'ered an éclipse at the hands of thèse 'the Ahïr' Guptas, probably in the time of or just after G u ṇ a k â m a d e v a I, as no coin is struck by S i v a d e v a I.

J i s h ṇ u G u p t a described himself (under M à n a d e v a II) as an ornament of the moon dynasty *(Somânvaya-bhùshaṇd)* and as having succeeded to a hereditary throne. Kirkpatrick's authority re-lates that thèse 'Aheer' Guptas were a branch of the Goalâ Guptas. But the Népal Guptas claimed to be Kshatriyas of the Moon Dynasty. The Moon Standard on the coins of the Impérial Guptas implies the same claim. J i s h ṇ u G u p t a is not mentioned in the Vaṁéâvalîs or the inscriptions of the Lichch-havis or the Ṭhâkurïs. Officially he was the Dictator; his *Yuvarâja* V i s h ṇ u G u p t a did not corne to the throne. The way he refers to Aṁéuvarman *[fri AmJuvarmapâdaiḥ*, IA, IX. 172] shows that he was related to him, evidendy through the latter's marriage

with Viéva Gupta's daughter. Jishṇu-Gupta seems tohâve been the son of Viéva Gupta. He to make room for himself in the Lichchhavi constitution—for the position which had been occupied by Aṁśuvarman, and which lasted up to theyear 320 (639 A.D.) when Sivadeva I inscribed his last known order—seems to hâve removed Mânadeva II, the usurper, the second son of Aṁéuvarman, and set up Dhruvadeva Lichchhavi in the brief period of his total dictatorship of 3 or 4 years. In the inscription under the sovereignty of Dhruvadeva (IA, IX. 171) he protests that he belongs to a pious family *(puṇyânvaya)* and that his rule is supported by the Pauras *(paurâ iritafàsand))* which probably implies commotion about the year 48 (643 A.D.) when very soon he was going to be dispossessed by Narendradeva, son of Udayadeva. Both he and Dhruvadeva are ignored in the Vaṁśâvalïs and Ṭhâkurï inscriptions, as usurpers. Except for the Mañjuśrî History[1] we hâve.had no référence to him in literature. He imitâtes the coins of Aṁśuvarman.

Dhruvadeva did not belong to the direct Lichchhavi line and his sélection as king must hâve been at the cost of Vṛishadeva. There is no coin of Dhruvadeva; the right of coinage was exercised by Jishṇu Gupta.

We can date the order of succession of this part thus, taking Udayadeva the *Yuvàrâja* as the eldest son of Aṁéuvarman:

[1] See below, § VI.

hichchhavis	Guptas	Ṭhâkurïs
Dhruvadeva (643 A.D.)[1]	JishṇuGupta with his Yuvarâja VishṇuGupta (yr. 48)	Udayadeva
Vṛishadeva		Mânadeva II (between yrs. 44 and 48)
Saṅkaradeva		
Dharmadeva [upto 705, defeated and killed the Tibetan in 705 A.D., (JRAS, 1880, 438) and set up four Pillars of Victory]		
Mânadeva III, 386 GE. (=705-732)		Narendradeva (643-657)[1]
Mahîdeva (after 415GE. = 732 A.D.)		Sivadeva II, yr. 119 (714 A.D.)[2]
Vasantadeva 415 GE. (-734 A.D.)		Jayadeva II, yr. 153 (748 A.D.)

Jayadeva II after detailing the Lichchhavi family from Vṛishadeva to Vasantadeva II gives *'ṁthitf (asja antare)* the period of this dynasty (vaṁśasya) his own genealogy contemporary with those Lichchhavi kings, He naturally omitted the interlopers Jishṇu-Gupta, Mânadeva III, and Dhruvadeva. Owing to Dhruvadeva intervening between

[1] Lévi, ii, 164. Narendradeva, son of Udayadeva, succeeded with the help of the Tibetans and was ruling in 643, while the year (48) in which the reign of Dhruvadeva is dated, also corresponds to 643 A.D.

[2] His reign (714 A.D.) falling 57 years after his father's, he must hâve been a baby on the death of his father.

Sivadeva I and Vṛishadeva, the Lichchhavi kings are taken up from Vṛishadeva, and after finishing that line the contemporaries—the Ṭhâkurïs—are given, which nécessitâtes the omission of Aṁéuvarman. The descendants of Aṁéuvarman probably imply a claim to be Lichchhavis by the inscription of Jayadeva IL This is explained by the statement in some Vaṁéâvalïs (cited in Landon's *Népal,* ii. 315) that Aṁéuvarman had been adopted as son by Sivadeva I. This seems to explain the anomalous position of the Ṭhâkurïs both in the inscription of Jayadeva II (IA, IX. 178) and the Vaṁśâvalï list. This also explains the révolutions in the time of JishṇuGupta, Mânadeva II and Dhruvadeva.

When Jayadeva II wrote his inscription in the year 153=748 A.D. the Lichchhavi dynasty had already become extinct with the death of Vasantadeva II who is mentioned as a past king *[âśtf\.* In the reign of Jayadeva II, the Ṭhâkurïs alone corne to possess the whole kingdom solely. We do not find any trace in inscriptions or in the Vaṁśâvalïs of any successor of Vasantadeva ll in the Lichchhavi line.

The mysterious reason for omitting 11 Lichchhavi kings between Jayadeva I and Vṛishadeva is the well-established Hindu historical custom (as in the Purâṇas) to omit names of kings in a dynasty when they cease to be independent. The Guptas exercised dominion over Népal from Samudra Gupta downwards. Hence we find only JayadevaI mentioned, who according to the chronology set out above and

calculated also by Fleet, flourished in the time of Samudra Gupta. For the time of Samudra Gupta we hâve his Allahabad inscription proving that Népal was one of the tributary states in the class which were in close touch with the Impérial Government, paying regular tribute (*kara)*. There is nothing to indicate that there happened any change in that condition under Chandra Gupta II and his immédiate impérial successors. Either in the reign of Kumâra Guptal or Skanda-Gupta, we find Haradatta establishing Vaishṇavism in Népal and actually copying Gupta architecture. His pillar of Garuḍa has the exact formula of Gupta pillars[1] and the Garuḍa is a copy of the Guptan Garuḍa[2]—a human figure with wigs, —which implies that Haradattadeva was owning the impérial Gupta suzerainty. When the Gupta Empire breaks up on account of the rise of the empire of the Maukharis *(c.* 550 A.D.—570 A.D.) we find Mànadeva I (576 A.D.) striking his own coin in Népal. But this attempt was short-lived, for we

[1] See description in IA, IX. 163. "Its lower half is square, half of the upper part is octagonal, higher up it becomes sîx-teen-cornered, and finally round." It is about 20 ft. high.

An inscription was inscribed on it later by Mànadeva III, while the pillar stood. It has no référence to the pillar itself. The shrine existed before Arhéuvarman who made a provision for it in his Harigaon writ of year 32 (Lévi, iii. 94, Une 7; the original name was *Doiafikharasvâmin*> the hill being called *dola*> 'swing').

1 found fragments of Gupta sculptures there and hâve brought one pièce to the Patna Muséum.

For Gupta writing of the fourth and fîfth centuries in Népal, see Bendall's *Journey*, p. 5.

[2] That is the Garudamadanka.

fînd the Népal Guptas asserting sovereignty in the last quarter of the 6th century—an assertion which Iasted down to the time of Sivadeval and Amśuvarman.

Out of this list thèse names mark changes in the religious history of Népal :

Haridatta (deva)—about 450 A.D., like the Impérial Guptas in the plains made Vaishṇavism the royal cuit of Népal.

Mânadeva I to Vṛishadeva—Buddhism reigned suprême after the Impérial Gupta influence, disappeared in the reign of Mânadeva I (576 A.D.). Corning after the Saiva Aṁśuvarman who patronised Buddhism merely as a ruler, Vṛishadeva about 660 A.D. made Buddhism again popular *(Sugataśâsana-pakshapâtïy* LA., IX. 178). But his son Saṅkaradeva, about 680 A.D., is regarded as a second Saṅkarâchârya for having revived Saivism at the cost of Buddhism. He has left his monuments at Paéupati and is universally credited by the Buddhists to hâve abolished monasticism in Népal Buddhism (Mahâyâna), forcing every *Bhikshu* to lead married life. There hâve been no wifeless Bhikshus in Népal ever since; the vihâras are occupied by married Buddhist priests.

After Saṅkaradeva the Lichchhavis remain markedly Saiva and Vaishṇavite.

The greatest figure in the period is Dhatmadeva. His son Mânadeva III, who in the very year of his accession (705 A.D.) marched against the Mallas, to meet whom since the time of Sivadeva I (yr. 320, Lévi, iii, 69, 107) there had been a

Malla-kara impost in Népal, records that his father had set up four Pillars of Victory. The reason for this we get from Tibetan History as recorded by the Chinese (translated in JRAS, 1880; 438, 456). The king of Népal snapped the Tibetan suzerainty brought over Népal by Narendradeva (643-657 A.D.). He gave battle to the Tibetan king (Ch'inush silung) and killed him (705 A.D.).

We find Sivadeva II employing impérial title in his inscription of 714 A.D., which means that Mânadeva III in his later years was reduced to the position of a *râjan* (as in his inscriptions), the real power passing to the Ṭhâkurî line. It was during the minority of Sivadeva II that Vṛishadeva, Saṅkaradeva and Dharmadeva revived the Lichchhavi line and its prestige.

VI—DATA OF THE MANJUSRI HISTORY ON NÉPAL

On the history of Népal we hâve a valuable source in the *Manjmrï-mfda-kalpa* in its book on Indian History. The text, edited with the help of the Tibetan translation [my *Manjusrï Impérial History*, § 12, p. 40] is as follows :

भविष्यति तदा काले उत्तरां दिशिमाश्रुतः ।
नेपालमण्डले ख्याते हिमाद्रेः कुक्षिमाश्रिते ॥५४९॥
राजा मानवेन्द्रस्तु लिच्छवीनां कुलोद्भवः ।
सोऽपि मन्त्रार्थ-सिद्धस्तु महाभोगी भविष्यति ॥५५०॥
विद्या भोगवती नाम तस्य सिद्धा नराधिपे ।
अशीतिवर्षाणि कृत्वासौ राज्यं तस्करवर्जितम् ॥५५१॥
ततः प्राणात्यये नृपतौ स्वर्गलोके जजग्मसु ।
तत्र मन्त्राश्च सिद्धयन्ति शीतला शान्तिकपौष्टिका ॥५५२॥

तारा च लोकविख्याता देवी पण्डरवासिनी ।
महाश्वेता परहितोद्युक्ता अखिन्नमनसां सदा ॥५५३॥
इत्येवमादयो प्रोक्ता बहुधा नृपतयोस्तदा ।
अनेकधा बहुधाश्चैव नानारूपविवर्णिताः ॥५५४॥
शास्तुपूजकास्तेऽपि म्लेच्छराजान् हैः ।
T.453 b. वृषिवः सुवृषश्चैव भावसु शुभसुस्तथा ॥५५५॥
भाक्रमः पदक्रमश्चैव कमलश्चैव कीर्त्यते ।
भागुप्तः वत्सकश्चैव (भास्वांश्चैव) पश्चिमः ॥५५६॥

[§ 12 b. Fall of Nepal]

G.६२२ ततः जिह्मुगो ह्यन्ते म्लेच्छानां विविधास्तथा ।
अम्भोधेः भ्रष्टमर्य्यादा बहिःप्राशोपभोजिनः ॥५५७॥
शस्त्रसम्पातविध्वस्ता नेपालाधिपतिस्तदा ।
विद्यालुप्ता लुप्तराजानो म्लेच्छतस्करसेविनः ॥५५८॥

५४९, देववन् (ल्ह-ल्दन्) । ५५०. मानवदेवस्तु । ५५४. नृपतयस्तदा । ५५५. हिमवद्वासिनः । वृषः । भूभासः सुभूभासस्तथा । ५५६. पराक्रमः (फ-रोल्-ग्नोद्-ञ्जिद्) । भूगुप्तः (स-स्रुङ=भूपालः) । ५५७. ङङ-छुल् (शीली, जिष्णुः) । ततः परं (दे-ऽोग्) । परपुरुषोपसेविनः (फ्यि-रोल्-सुक्ये दगुप्स्त्-क्षे-वर्-स्प्योद्) । ५५८. विलुप्तास्तत्र राजानो । ५५९. देव-द्विज-प्रियाः ।

[§ 12 c. Revival of Nepal]

अनेका भूपतयो प्रोक्ता नाना चैव द्विजप्रियाः ।
भविष्यन्ति तदा काले चीनं प्राप्य समन्ततः ॥५५९॥

The Mañjuérï History (§ 12, text, p. 40) says :

(1) At that time in the North, in Nepâla-maṇḍala, in the valley of the Himalaya, there will be king *Mâ/ta-vendra* (read *Mâna-deva)* born of the dynasty of the Lichchhavis. He would be very prosperous *(mabâbbogï)*—the Vidyâ Bhogavatï will be established in that king. For eighty years he ruled and made the country free from robbers (549-551) *(Hère follow the names of certain goddesses* (552-53).

(2) Then there will be various *(babudbâ)* kings *(dynasties)* several and various *(anekadbà* and *babudbâ),* of various castes (? *nânâ-rûpa-vivarnitâh)*—they will be ail Buddhists, and foreigners *(mlechcha-râjânab;* Tibetan : Himâlayan races or résidents).

(3) *Vrisha; Suvrisba; Bhâvasu* (T.—*Bbûbbâsa); Subhasu* (T.—*Subhùbhâsa); Bhàkrama* (T.—*Parâkrama); Kamala; Bhâgupta* (T.—*Bbûgupta); Vatsaka; [AmJuvarman,* T.—*Bhâsvân]* the Western (535-56).

(4) *Udaya* and *Jisbnu* in the end. After that (Tibetan-*tatab parant)* there arose several kings under the Mlechchhas who broke ail rules *(bbrasbta-maryâdâ)* and were dépendants of outsiders (T.) (5 5 7).

(5) Then the overlord of Népal *(Nepaîàdhipatib)* was defeated and killed in battle (by arms); the kings who had lost Vidyâs, servants of the Mlechchha robbers, disappeared. There will be several kings, lovers of (Hindu) Gods and Brahmins, having } China (Tibet) on their frontier (558-559).

The above data are highly important, as they give a taie différent from the Vamsâvalîs, and in accord with Chinese history and inscriptions. Section (1) gives the successful rule of Mânadeva I. His goddess *Bhogavatï* is undoubtedly the *Srï-Bhoginl* on the *Mânânka* coin. Section (2) mentions various contemporary dynasties which rose to power in Népal after Mânadeva I. One of them is headed and represented by *Vrisha* in whom we may recognize the Lichchhavi Vrishadeva. *Bhâvasu Subhasu, Bhâkrama* and *Kamala* seems to represent some Kirâta family, while *Bhûgupta* corresponds to the Varhéâvalï *Bhùmigupta,* the last of the 'Aheer Guptas', who was defeated by Sivadevalor Amsuvarman whom Sivadeva I crédits with victories on his

enemies. Vatsaka is unrecorded otherwise, but seems to be connected with Bhùgupta. Another contemporary is Aṁéuvarman (of the West) whose name is lost in the Sanskrit text but is supplied from the Tibetan translation. We find Aṁéuvarman inhis inscriptions ruling over the Government *(adhikaraṇd)* of the West. It seems that apart from the Guptas there arose at least one more local family to power, and the kingdom after Mânadeva I was sorely torn to pièces, and that it was reunited by Aṁéuvarman under Sivadeva. Aṁéuvarman set up the government of the West with full powers of sovereignty. Vṛishadeva and Aṁéuvarman are treated as contemporaries.

(4) Udaya and Jishṇu (Gupta) are placed at the end of this list and noted to hâve been the last independent sovereigns of Népal. After Jishṇu the country passed under the domination of the Mlechchhas, i.e. the Tibetans, until the overlord of Népal, that is, the Tibetan king, was killed in battle. Then followed Brahmanical kings—a description fully true of the kings from Dharmadeva to Vasanta [sena], Sivadeva II and Jayadeva IL The defeat and killing of the Tibetan overlord (705 A. D.) is borne out by Chinese History (JRAS, 1880, 438; V. Smith, EH., 381).

Who was Vatsaka?

We hâve seen that the two Gupta lists in the Vaṁéâvalîs really constitute one séries.[1] The first

[1] See section VII of this study.

list is from Jaya Gupta I to Jaya Gupta II—8 rulers (Lévi, II, 72; IA, VIL 89). Jaya Gupta II settled down, according to Kirkpatrick's Vaṁśâvalï, near Janakpur (Tarai). His name is omitted in the Népal list by other Vaṁśâvalïs, where Yaksha Gupta is the last Népal Gupta. We find base gold and copper coins of Jaya Gupta II (in characters of circa 600 A. D.), and a mould to forge his gold coins has been discovered in Nâlandâ excavations this year. This vérifies the truth of the Vaṁéâvalï datum about the Gupta dynasty of Népal. The Vaṁśâvalïs hâve the foliowing kings in the two lists:—

(Bhagwanlal, Wright, Lévi)

(Kirkpatrick)

[within the Lichchhavi list]

Bhïmadeva	*Bhîmadeva*	(displaced by Aheers, IA, VIL 90)
Vishṇudeva	*Vishṇu Gupta*	

which corresponds with the Gupta list

5. *Bhïma Gupta*
6. *Mati* (or, *Maṇi) Gupta*
7. *Vishṇu Gupta*

It seems that up to Bhïma Gupta there was one line of the Guptas who were displaced by the other Une beginning with Vishṇu Gupta. Mati-Gupta or Maṇi Gupta was a prince of the displaced line.

Kirkpatrick's Vaṁśâvalï gives two more names after Vishṇu Gupta

Kisnu Gupta
Bhûmi Gupta

Thèse names are not found in the othet Vaṁéàvalîs, probably *Kishnu Gupta* is a misreading and duplication of *Vishṇu Gupta*, but *Bhûmi Gupta* is supported by the Mañjuérî History which has

Bhû Gupta
Vatsaka

In the other list the Varhéavalïs after Vishṇu Gupta hâve

Yaksha Gupta

It seems that after Vishṇu Gupta there were probably two branches:

Vishṇu Gupta
|
Yaksha Gupta — Bhûmi Gupta

That is, *Yaksha Gupta* of the Vaṁśâvalis would correspond with the *Vatsaka* of the Mafijuśrîmûla kalpa. *Vatsaka* seems to be a nickname.

Now we are helped hère by Népal coins on the identification of *Yaksha Gupta*. We know from the description of Népal coinage in the Chinese History that in 643 A.'D. the Chinese noticed the coin which agrées exclusively with the coin of *Vaiiravana—'man on one side, and bull on the other.'*[1] This coin therefore must belong to a king who flourished before 643 A. D. He thus would be either a contemporary or a predecessor of Aṁéuvarman. There is no doubt that Aṁéuvarman imitâtes this coin by adopting *Kâmadohî*[2] (Kâmadhenu) with the calf at udders on his

[1] See beiow sec. VIII. The reading on the Vaîéravaṇa coin is *VaUravaṇaj)*—see plate I. 4 of Mr. Walsh, JRAS, 1908, 669.

[2] Not *Kâmadehï*, as formerly read. The corrected reading is by the Ràjagu'\i Pt. Hemarâja Sarmâ. *Kâmaàohï* = Skt. *Kâma-*

coin. The coin must therefore belong either to Sivadeva I or some other contemporary. The legend on the coin *Vaiiravaṇaḥ* suggests that it was struck by Yaksha Gupta. *'Vaiiravanḉï* may very well stand as rébus, as Vaiéravaṇa is the king of the Yakshas. His nickname *Vatsaka* ('little calP) probably originated from his représentation on the coin as the little calf attached to the Kâmadhenu. It is also possible that he had a second officiai name as *Vailravaṇa.*

The Gupta list would stand thus—

NÉPAL

5	Bhîma Gupta	*c.* 575 A. D.
7	Vishṇu Gupta	*c.* 600 A. D.
8	Bhûmi Gupta	*c.* 625 A. D.
Sa	Yaksha Gupta	*c.* 625 A. D.
[Tarāi]		
Sb	Jaya Gupta II	*c.* 625 or 640 A. D.

VII—THE GUPTA DYNASTIES OF NÉPAL

There are two Gupta Dynasties noted in Népal historiés, and both are confirmed by coins and other évidence. The coins establish their connexion with the Impérial Guptas.

Ail the Vaṁśâvalïs state that the history of Népal begins with the *'Gupta Ḍynastf* who were of the Goâlâ caste [Sanskritised in some as *gopd,'a]*[1].

dhuk. **It represents the country [of Népal]—cf. the political maxim :**

राजन् दुधुक्षसि यदि क्षितिधेनुमेनां तेनाद्य वत्समिव लोकममुं पुषाण ।

[1] **Wright's *History of Nepâf,* 107-109; Bhagwanlal Indraji,** XIII, ***IA,* 411-12; Lévi, *Népal,* ii. 72, 74; *Cf.* Kirkpatrick,**

This dynasty which is specifically given the name of the Gupta Dynasty, consists of eight names and its first name is lost which is replaced by a phrase *bhukta-mânagata* meaning *'the elapsed jears of the reign?* After this dynasty the Vaṁéâvalïs introduce a dynasty of thtee names and call them the Aheers (Ahïrs) 'from the plains of Hindustan,' The oldest authority, namely the one cited by Kitkpatrick in 1793 A. D., definitely says that they were Rajpût descendants from *Mahïpa Gopâla* (King Cowherd), that they levied their army in the country situated between Simraongarh and Janakpur (Tarai) and entered and subjugated Népal. This authority therefore states that the so-called Ahïrs were only a branch of the dynasty which Kirkpatrick has left unnamed and which is officially designated as the *Gupta Dynasty* in the Vaṁéavalïs. There is thus no distinction historically between the Goâlâs and Ahïrs, as there is none between the two terms—*Goâlâ* and *Ahïr*. The descendants of thèse so-called Ahïrs are once more given in the Lichchhavi list above Sivadeva I and Aṁéuvarman, by whom they were finally driven out of Népal. There are therefore practically two lists of thèse Guptas (the Goàlà-Ahïrs). Their chronology may be calculated back from the known date of Aṁsuvarman and Sivadeva I. When the Népal historiés say that the Gupta-Ahïr Une was broken by the Kirâtas it should be taken to refer to a Kirâta revival three générations above Aṁéuvarman. The introduction into the Gupta-Ahïr-Aṁéuvarman

Historical Sketch of Népal in his *Account of the Kingdom of Népal* **(1811), 255-257-**

chronology, of the long line of the Kirâtas who flourished before and after Aéoka is a tesult of confusion. The two Kirâta Unes—(1) the pre-Christ Kirâtas and (2) the pre-Aṁâuvarman Kirâtas—hâve been mixed up together. Népal History should hâve and would hâve begun with the Kirâta Dynasty and not with the Guptas but for that confusion. The Kirâtas who intervene just before the line of Aṁśuvarman are called "Yellung Kirâta" in Kirkpatrick and *Ya-laṁva* in Lévi's édition[1] which is treated as the proper name of the first king. *Ya-laṁva* is most likely the ethnie name *Ltṁbu*, a well-known division of the Kirâtas still on the eastern frontiers of Népal. The next name *Pavi* of the Vaniśâvalî is noted in the Mañjuśrï History (p. 40, text)[2] as *Vavi-sha*, placed between Mânadeva I and Vṛisha (deva), as a Himâlayan Mlechchha and Buddhist by religion.

The Gupta lists and their chronology should be arranged as follows :

(A)

1. Jaya Gupta I
2. Parama Gupta
3. Harsha Gupta
4. Bhîma Gupta
5. Mati [or Maṇi] Gupta
6. Vishṇu Gupta
7. Yaksha Gupta

Jaya Gupta II [K.]

[1] Lèvi, ii. 78, corresponding to *Ya-Lambasa* of Wright.
[2] See extract in § VI above.

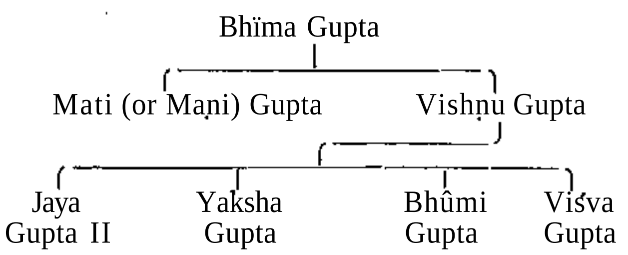
(B) *Branch of the above*

1. Vara-sirhha
2. Jaya-Mati sirhha [Jaya-Simha K.]
3. Bhowany (K.) or
   Bhuvana-sirhha.

(Q *Their descendants, mentioned in the 'Lichchhavi list*[1]

1. Bhïma (deva)
2. [Vishnu Gupta (K.); *Vishnu de*va-others]
   [Kishnoo Gupta (only in K.)]
3. Via va Gupta (L.) *(Viha deva-othets;* father-in-law of Améuvarman)
4. Bhûmi Gupta (only in K.) but confirmée! by Mañjuérï History, whih gives Bhû Gupta as a contemporary of Amsuvarman

It seems that from *Bhïma Gupta* (A, no. 4; C, 1) Unes branched off. No. 6 of A corresponds with no. 2 of C; and no. 5 of A corresponds with no. 2 of B.



The dates assignable to the Gupta dynasty of Népal, composed of section A and C, would be :

[1]**Bhagwanlal Indraji,** XIII, ***IA*****, 412, ii. Lévi 74, Wright, 109, Kirkpatrick, 256.**

[1] **13 IA 413; 2 Lévi 122; Wright, 130; Kirkpatrick, 260-61.**

Jayagupta I	*c.* 500 A.D.	
ParamaGupta	*c.* 525 A.D.	
Harsha Gupta,	*c.* 5 50 A.D.	
BhïmaGupta	c.575 A.D.	dispossessed by the Lichchhavis [probably by Mânadeva I who succeeded in 576 A.D.]
Vishṇu Gupta	*c.* 600 A.D.	He actually reigned in the valley; his endowment *Vishṇu-nâtha* still exists 8 miles north of Kathmandu[1]
Jaya Gupta II		
Yaksha Gupta		
Viéva Gupta		
Bhûmi Gupta	*c.* 625 A.D.	the time of the conquest of Aṁéuvarman under Sivadeva I who is noted to hâve expelled them

As to the position of Section B, it is certain that they had their seat in the Tarai. There being no room for them from 500 A.D. to 600 A.D.—they, —another branch of the same family—the *Mahïpâla gopdla* i.e. the 'Impérial Guptas'—must corne after Jaya Gupta II, when the family was dispossessed in Népal, in other words, after 625 A.D.

VIII—COINAGE

Coins of Népal Guptas

This is confirmed by the gold coins of Varasiṁha which hâve been assigned to the seventh century, Allan opining that they *'cannot be before the*

[1] **Kirkpatrick, 191.**

seventh century\ nothing is known of their attribution? The coins are illustrated in V. Smith's Catalogue of the Indian Muséum, pi. xvi. 14. and AUan's Gupta Coins (British Muséum) pi. xxiv. 11. The legend is read doubtfully by Rapson as "*Vīra* [-*sena* or *siṁhd]"-*[1] It has *"Kramâdityaḥ"* on the reverse. On the obverse there is a cow in the style of the Kâmadhenu of the Népal coins of Vaiéravaṇa and Aṁéuvarman. Dr. V. Smith could not décide between "bull? or cow,"[2] an uncertainty which will be caused to everyone who would be introduced first to the Népal Kâmadohl. The name is *Jrī Vara \siṁhd\.* Although certainly related to the Impérial Gupta coinage, the coin of Varasiṁha, has the weight not of the Gupta System but of Népal coins, the weight of the three gold coins of Varasiṁha being 162.3, 162.5, and 169 grs. which as Smith says is 'abnormaP and 'not easy to explain' (p. 98). It is explainable only on the weight System of Népal which we find there in vogue in the coinage of Vaiéravaṇa and Aṁéuvarman (Cunningham, CAL, xiii, 3, wt. 172; xiii, 6, wt. 169 grs.).

Varasiṁha in dispossessing Jaya Gupta II must be taken to hâve dispossessed him in the Tarai. Only three coins of Varasiṁha hâve been found up to this time, and one of them was obtained by Col. Rivett-Carnak at Benares. His coins should be looked for in Champaran. We know now about Jaya Gupta IFs coins that they were current

[1] **JRAS, 1900, 131.**
[2] **p. 122.**

near Magadha, as a mould to forge his gold coin has been just discovered (dug out) at Nâlandâ.[1] His principality must hâve been near Nâlandâ wherefrom the coin could be passed into the territory of its circulation or it could be discounted even in Magadha as that of a recognized feudatory. J a y a G u p t a ' s coins are the most debased gold coins of the whole of the Gupta séries, having only *l* gold, which shows that he was in terrible financial straits. We hâve both his copper and gold coins. His tide on his coins is *Prakâṇḍayahḥ.* His copper coins hâve the Impérial Garuḍa, proving that he belonged to the Impérial Gupta family. His coins hâve been assigned by V. Smith to *c.* 600 A.D.[2]

VIII.—LICHCHHAVI COINAGE

It seems that on the weakness of the Gupta impérial organisation *[c.* 500 A.D.] a branch from Magadha or North Bihar entered into Népal and took direct possession of Népal. The Lichchhavis then naturally became direct subordinates to the local Guptas. About 576 A.D. M â n a d e v a l reasserted the independence of the Lichchhavi dynasty and struck his coins. He was foliowed by G u ṇ a d e v a (or Guṇa-kâma-deva) of the Guṇâṅka coins. They are a twin system of [*Mânânka-Gunânkri]* coinage. The names M â n a d e v a and G u ṇ a -

[1] This was brought to me by Mr. G. C. Chandra, Supdt. A.S.,C.C. to be deciphercd. This is exactly of the type illustrated by Cunningham in CMI, pi. II. 3. The mould is made from a coin.

[2] V. Smith, CIM, p. 121; Cunningham, CMI, pl. II, 3; Allan, 153.

kâma-deva were transferred from between Vasantadeva I and Sivadeval to a position below Vasantadeva II and above Sivadeva II in the Lichchhavi list. The confusion was caused by the appearance of Mânadeva II (contemporary and sovereign of Jishṇu-Gupta) there between Vasantadeva-Udayadeva and Sivadeva II. This led to the transposition of Mânadeva I and Guṇakâmadeva as nos. 25 and 26 of the Lichchhavi list from their original position between nos. 15 (Vasantadeva I) and 16 (Sivadeva I).[1]

On the évidence of coins there seems to be an assertion by the Lichchhavis in the time of Mànadeva I who coins his money. Now the Mañjuérï Impérial History supplies the numismatic identification of the female figure on the coins of this king: *Srï-Bhoginï.* It says that the Vidyâ worshipped by Mânadeva (who lived before Vjishadeva) was *Bhogavatî.* Mañjuérï's Impérial History begins the Lichchhavi Une with him, for he was the first to become independent of the Impérial Guptas. The coin of Guṇa follows immediately Mânadeva's coin. But we gather from the coin of Vaiéravaṇa that the family had again a set-back. There is no room for this last coin after Améuvarman and the coin of Améuvarman and that of Vaiéravaṇa **are** so connected that one must follow the other. The design of *Kamadohï* (the reading as corrected from *Kâmadehî* by the Râjaguru Pandit Hema-

[1] 13 IA, 412.

râja Sarmà) appears on thèse two coins only. Aṁéuvarman's successor Jishṇu Gupta abandons it, and the *Paéupati* séries which follows Jishṇu Gupta[1] abandons it. If it came after the Pasupati séries—its date would be *c.* 800 A.D. which will be too late for the script of the Vaiéravaṇa coin. The coin should therefore corne before Aṁéuvarman and after Mânâṅka and Guṇâṅka coins, where it has been already placed by numismatists (see Cunningham, C. A. I. 116). But as there is no name in the Lichchhavi list to whom it can be assigned, it has remained unassigned. We may take it to belong to ᶜthe revived (Ahïr) Gupta dynasty,' where it can belong either to Yaksha Gupta or Bhûmi Gupta. *'Yaksha'* corresponds to *'Vaifravana?* the king of the Yakshas. The legend acts as the rébus, if not the actual régnai name of the king. It may be safely presumed that the line of Vrishadeva, Saṇkaradeva, Dharmadeva, etc.—strikes the Paṣupati coins under the new Saiva influence, in the name of their Deity, *Palup ati,* with changing symbols—the Trident probably signifying the reign of Sankaradeva who dedicated the large trident noted in Népal history and corne down to our time. His son is accredited to hâve donated the copper *Nandi* at Paéupati. The Sun symbol on the Paéupati séries dénotes the Sûryavamsa of the Lichchhavis. The Pasupati coinage has "six distinct types'[1] and from Vrishadeva to Vasantadeva we hâve 6 kings.

[1] E. H. Walsh, J.R.A.S., 1908, 681.

In weight the Vaiéravaṇa coin does not belong to the séries of Paéupati, but to that of Mânâṅka, Guṇànka and Aṁéuvarman. The Paéupati séries is subséquent to Vaiéravana.[1]

Chinese History on Népal Coinage

The Chinese hâve described the coinage of Népal about 643-651 A. D. Wang-Hiuen-t'se, in his description[2] of the kingdom of Népal under king N a r e n - d r a d e v a, relates that Népal *"has copper money which bears on one side the figure of a man and on the reverse a horse"* In the other édition of the Thang history (called *The New History),* the description of the money is *"on one side it bears the figure of a man and the reverse a horse and a bull, and has no hole in the middle"* (that is, unlike Chinese coins).

This description is only applicable to the folio wing coins:

(1) Coin of *Vaiiravaṇa* (Cunningham, C.A.I., pi. XIII, 3; Walsh, JRAS, 1908, p. 669, pi. I. 4). Hère there is on the obverse what Cunningham describes—*"The types* [of Népal coins] *are few in number. The principal type shows the king seated on a throne holding aflower in his right hand"* (p. 114) also further—*"Deity or Raja, seated to front"* (p. 116). The reverse has a cow (not bull). The very small calf is mostly very indistinct—e.g. on the coin illustrated by Mr. Walsh where letters and other features of the coin are ail clear but the calf is difficult to distinguish. The cow

[1] E. H. Walsh, J.R.A.S., 1908, 681.

[2] Preserved in the History of the Thang Dynasty ; ,'. *A.*, **1894,** *66.* **The** passage has been translatée! several times. See Lévi's citation, *Nepal,* i. 163-64; n2 at p. 164.

is so drawn that by a man in the street it may be taken as a bull.

(2) Coin of Mânadeva I *(Mânâṅka)* where the figure of the goddess *Bhoginï* may well be mistaken for that of a man (see Mr. Walsh's plate, fig. 1). The griffin on the reverse has the perfect appearance of a horse.

(3) Aṁéuvarman's séries having on one side the cow [which can be mistaken for a bull] and on the other the 'horse' (really griffin) (CAI, xiii. 4; Walsh, I. 5) is the only other nearest approach, but probably it has to be ruled out for not having any human figure. Jishṇu Gupta's coin has similarly to go out, because it has the griffin on one side but no human figure or the cow on the other side but *vajra* in a décorative style.

Hence the Chinese party who saw Nepalese copper coins in 643 to 651 A.D. based their description on the coins of Mânadeva I, Vaiéravaṇa, and also possibly of Aṁéuvarman ('New History' : *'horse and bull').* It seems that *Mânânka, Vaisravana* and Améuvarman's coins had been largely minted and they mainly supplied the needs of currency up to *c.* 650 A. D.

The value of copper in the Madhyadeéa *(Madhes* of the present-day Nepalese) was $^{1}/_{16}$th of silver, but probably in Népal it was still more dear. Jishṇu-Gupta's inscription at Thankot[1] calculâtes ail

[1] **Lévi, *Népal,* iii. 104 (lines 23-25, p. 107 : kare cha ycna kàrshàpaṇan deyan tenâshṭau paṇā deyâ yenàushṭau paṇa deyaṃ tena paṇa-chatushṭayaṃ Malla-kare cha paṇa-chatushça-yan deyaṃ.**

taxes in Kârshâpaṇas, which confiarms the Chinese testimony of a copper currency. So does also the fact that we hâve found no silver coin of the period in Népal. But Aṁéuvarman's inscription of the year 30,[1] mentions both *pu.* (i.e. *purâṇa* — silver punch-marked pièces) and *pa.* i.e., *paṇa.* It is possible that the référence is only for the purposes of calculation into Kârshâpaṇas. In any case silver was rare in Népal.[2]

On the vexed question of the date of Népal coins, the Chinese description is évidence of that the âge of the Mânâṅka and Vaiéravaṇa coins cannot be later than 643 A. D. and that Paéupati coins had not corne on the scène yet and that they hâve to be dated after 651 A. D.

It is not possible for the Mânââka coin to belong to M à n a d e v a I I , contemporary of Jishṇu Gupta, as he ruled for a year or so, and could not leave so numerous a séries, nor of course can it belong to Mànadeva I I I [of the Changu Narayan inscription] who came half a century later.

(On the absence of Népal coinage between *c.* 800 to 1300 A. D., the discussion is to be found in this thesis in § X I I] .

[1] Lévi, *ibiây* p. 93 (Haxigaon insc).
[2] The T'ang History mentions silver in Tibet in die same period. See Bushell's translation, JRAS, 1880, p. 442—*"They oave abundance of gold, silver, copper and tin"*

IX—DYNASTIC RÉVOLUTION ON THE DEATH OF AMSUVARMAN

The Line of Udayadeva

The line of Udayadeva is a puzzle. It is given both in the inscription of Jayadeva II, great grandson of Udayadeva, as if it belongs to the Lichchhavis. It is given in the Vaṁéavalïs as the concluding portion of the Lichchhavis line. The puzzle is solved by Chinese datum to be discussed below and the Thankot inscription of Jishṇu Gupta mentioning a Mânadeva, not as 'the banner of the Lichchhavi dynasty' the usual dynastic description, but as 'the banner of the dynasty seated on the throne' *(singhâsanâdhyâsi-kula-ketu)*- It is necessary to remember throughout thèse discussions that according to one view—e.g. Lévi's—Aṁśu-varman married the daughter of Sivadeva (the name *Visva* supposed to be a corruption of *Stva),* and according to the other as noted in a Vaṁśâvalï in possession of the Baḍâ Kâzi of Népal (cited in Landon, ii, 315) Aṁśuvarman was adopted by Sivadeva as a son, who was some sort of a nephew to him. The inscriptions do not however show that Sivadeva treated Aṁéuvarman as his son, but this by itself is not sufficient. The name *endṁg-deva* in the name of *Udaya-deva,* who was in every event the immédiate successor of Amsuvarman need not trouble us, as Amsu-varman's admitted descendants did adopt the *depa-endṁg.*

[1] **Lévi, iii. 107.**

What happened on the death of Aṁjuvarman we gather from an unexpected quarter—Chinese history of the T'ang Dynasty. According to the inscription of Jayadeva II, King Udayadevais son was Narendradeva.[1] About this Narendradeva there is a volume of information in the Chinese history. His dress, his palace [Kailâsakûṭa], the coinage current in his time, and his international status are ail described in détail. That account says that the father of the king *Na-ling-ti-po (Narendradeva),* whom the Impérial Ambassador met in Népal in 643 A.D., had been deposed by his (Narendradeva's) uncle, the younger brother of his father; whereupon Narendradeva sought the help of the Tibetan king (Strong-tsan-Gampo) who restored him to the throne of Népal and made him his vassal. In 651 A.D. Sri Narendra *(Chi-li-Na-lien-to-Id)* sent a mission to the Chinese Emperor. This was a year later than the death of Strong-tsan-Gampo. Narendradeva was still ruling in 657 A.D. when a Chinese ambassador passed through Népal[2].

We thus get the definite news that Udayadeva, father of Narendradeva was deposed by his younger brother who became king. Naturally the name of this collatéral and usurper is not to be

[1] The reading and interprétation of Bhagwanlal Indraji (I.A., IX, 178) has been corrected by Fleet (G. I., I., 187) which correction I hâve verified iṇ Népal. The learned Rãja-Gurn Pt. Hemarâja Sarmâ who has gone deep into the matter is of the opinion that it is not possible to maintain the reading *trayodasa* of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji.

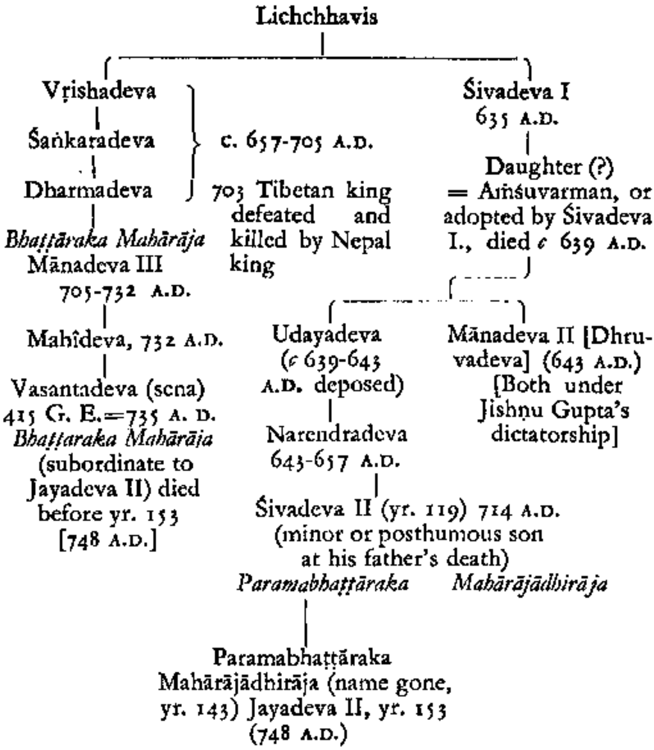
[2] J.A., 1894, 63ff; 1900, 302.

found in the genealogy given by the grandson of Narendradeva, Jayadeva IL But we know his name from the inscriptions of Jishṇu Gupta who, three or four years after the last inscription of Aṁśuvarman (dated 40 + 4 or 5), was ruling from the *Kailâsakùṭa* Palace of Aṁśuvarman as the Viceroy of Dhruvadeva who was residing at Mânagṛiha, the palace of the Lichchhavi kings. Before that time Jishṇu Gupta ruled also as the viceroy of Mânadeva (who should be called Mà-nadeva II as opposed to the later Mânadeva, great-grandson of Vṛishadeva, who should be called Mânadeva III). The date in the inscription at Thankot wherein Mânadeva II is king, is not distinct now[1] but it is not difficult to décide whether Dhruvadeva was the uncle of Narendradeva, or Mânadeva II who dispossessed his father. For Dhruvadeva's date being the year 48 (= 643 A.D.) he must be the latter of the two, as Narendradeva had succeeded by 643 when he was on the throne. Then Dhruvadeva is specifically described as a Lichchhavi, while Mâna-deva II is significantly described by a new appellation—'*the banner of the enthroned famiiy*—i.e., the family of Aṁśuvarman as opposed to that of the Lichchhavis. That also proves that Aṁsu-varman had also assumed full sovereignty in his last year. This is also certain that in the short period between the year 44 of Aṁśuvarman

[1]Lévi reads it doubtfuUy as 500? But I do not find this figure. On the other hand the date reads like 44, see plate XVII, last line (Lévi, iii)—See my enlarged reproduction herein.

and about 48, and before 643 A.D., Udayadeva was dethroned by Mânadeva II. The Vamsâvalîs correctly place *Mânadeva* between Udayadeva and Narendradeva (with the addition of one more name, *Guṇakâma-deva,* after *Mânadeva,* as a mistaken transposition from his place below *Mânadeva* I, feu: there is no room for Guṇakâmadeva hère). Taking four years (the différence between Aṁéuvarman's date 44 and of Jishṇu Gupta 48), Udayadeva at the earliest must hâve succeeded Aṁéuvarman four years before Narendradeva, 643, i.e. *circa* 639 A.D., and latest in 642-643 A.D.

Now the line of Udayadeva when dated from Chinese data and inscriptions exhibits the ups and downs in the political position of the Lichchhavi-Ṭhâkurî line and the pure Lichchhavi line in the following manner:



Paramabhattâraka
Mahârâjâdhirâja (name gone,
yr. 143) Jayadeva II, yr. 153
(748 A.D.)

Mânadeva II and Dhruvadeva both had their résidence at Mânagriha, hence there was no room for Vrishadeva from c639 to 643. Narendradeva was the king of the whole of Népal in 643 and he was such a king up to 657 at least. Hence Vrishadeva and his line rose to power after Narendradeva and during the minority of Sivadeva II, whose record we find 63 years later than his father's. During this interval Vrishadeva, Sankaradeva, Dharmadeva, and Mânadeva IIIsucceeded.

Dharmadeva's position seems to hâve been great, he set up four Pillars of Victory according to the Changu Narayan inscription of his son Mânadeva III. This is confirmed by Chinese sources. The king of Népal killed the Tibetan king in war in 703 A.D. or 705 A.D.[1]

Mânadeva in the beginning of his reign (386 G. E. = 705) carried war against the Mallas and reached the Gandak (North Bihar).[2] But in 732 his position is that he is merely described by a subordinate of his as *Srïmânadeva-nṛipati* (LA., IX. 167) while his contemporary Sivadeva II (119 = 714 A.D.) is styled with Impérial titles *Varamabhaṭṭ-âraka Mahârâjàdhirâja* (LA., IX. 174). And 24 years later, evidently in the reign of JayadevaII the same impérial title still continued in the Une, the family employing the Ṭhâkurï era, year 143, (LA., IX, 176); while Vasantadeva (sena) in 415[3] G. E.==735 A.D. is only *Maharaja* and a simple (not *paramd) Bhaṭṭâraka.*

Vasantadeva must hâve been dead when Jayadeva II in the year 153=748 A.D. said about him *'âsit VasantadevaṾ* (LA, IX, 178).

The Mañjuérï History correctly records the situation that after Udaya came Jishṇu

[1] In 703 A.D. according to E. H. Parker, Journal of Manchester Oriental Society, 1911, pp. 129-52, cited by V. Smith, EH., p. 381; 705 A.D. according to Dr. Bushell, JRAS, 1880, 438.

[2] See Changu Narayan inscription, lines recovered by Lévi (iii, 14).

[3] LA., IX. 167. The figure is 415, not 435; *cf.* plates 3 and 2 for the figure 10 (LA., IX), and chart of figures in Bendall's Cambridge *Cat* and Bùhler's chart for 30.

and that Jishṇu was the last independent **king** of Népal, that the kings after him became subordinate to the Mlechchhas (Tibetans), and that the overlord of Népal (Tibetan king) having been killed by arms, there arose several kings, lovers of 'Devas' and 'Brâhmaṇas.' Thèse latter were the Lichchhavis of the Une of Vṛishadeva. Although Vṛishadeva was a patron of Buddhism, Saṅkara, Dhatma, Mânadeva III and also probably Vasantadeva, and certainly Sivadeva II and Jayadeva II were distinctly Brâhmanical, devotees of Vishṇu and Siva, to whom their dedicated monuments still survive.

There is no trace of any Tibetan overlordship after 703 A.D. which is a landmark in their international relation—a point entirely missed by Lévi. Their impérial titles of *Varamabhaṭṭâraka* and *Maharajadhirâja* from 714 to 738 fully establishes their independent position.

The T'ang History, bks. 256—257, gives the contemporary history of Tibet, which has been translated by Dr. S. W. Bushell, physician to the British Légation at Peking, in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1880, p. 435ff. According to it, Strong-tsan-Gampo (Chinese—Ch'it-sung-lungtsan) died in 650 and was succeeded by his grandson, aged 8, whose son Ch'inushsilung was killed in his expédition against Népal and was succeeded by a minor son aged 7 in 705 A.D. It was not until 755-756 (two successions later) that the Tibetan king once more rose to military greatness by attacking China and taking her capital in **756** A.D. Between 740 and 769 A.D. Tibet

was defeated by Muktâpîḍa Lalitâditya of Kashmir.[1] Between 822 and 842 Tibet again goes down and a civil war ensues (842), and in 849 Tibet becomes a broken vassal of China. It becomes thus évident that in Dharmadeva's time (703) Tibet is defeated, and down to the time of jayadeva II (748 A.D.) Népal was absolutely her own master, there being weakness in Tibet up to 755.[2] C. 800 Népal was strong enough to defeat the great Jayâpïḍa.

It is noteworthy that the family of Mânadeva II is not named by Jishṇu Gupta at Thankot as the *Lichckhavi-kula-ketu,* but as *singhâsanâdhyâsi-hda-ketu* (Lévi, iii, 105). This fully confirms the view that Udayadeva and his brother were not technically Lichchhavis, but Ṭhâkurïs. It should be noted however that Yuan Chwang regards the kings before Aṁéuvarman and aftet him (even including Aṁśuvarman) as Lichchhavis. That is, in the Ṭhâkurï family the prédominant élément was the Lichchhavi affiliation.

The date of Narendradeva (643-657) definitely contributes to the ascertainment of the correct date for Aṁśuvarman. He must hâve

[1] Mon. Lévi has not noticed the Nepalese victory over Tibet of the year 703 A.D. and has gratuitously held Népal to hâve been subject to Tibet from the time of Sivadeva I and Aṁéuvarman down to 880 A.D., while the Chinese historians themselves state the Indians states that used to approach China against Tibet ceased to do so at 760 A.D.—S. Julien, J.A. 1842. 2.

[2] V. Smith, EH., 386-87.

died not later than 643, or *minus* 4 or 3 years of Jishṇu Gupta's rule, *c*640 or 639 A.D.

It was in the time of Narendradeva that Nepal for the first time became a vassal of Tibet, that is, about 643 A.D. This is definitely stated by the Chinese history. This happened as a result of Narendradeva's seeking help of foreign intervention and not as a result of any military invasion. It was Narendradeva who furnished 7000 cavalry to the Chinese ambassador along with the Tibetan force of 1200, to dislodge Arjuna or Aruṇāśva, and not Aṁśuvarman as erroneously stated by Fleet.[1] Narendradeva's name is specifically noted by the Chinese writers in this connection.

It is likely that the marriage of the alleged daughter of Aṁśuvarman with Strong-tsan-Gampo took place, if in 642 A.D. the agreed date, not in the lifetime of Aṁsuvarman but after him and in the period when the Nepalese king was seeking the help of Tibet. If the lady was a sister of Udayadeva, she was the daughter of Aṁśuvarman. If she was a sister of Narendradeva, she was Udayadeva's daughter. The Tibetan word translated as *prabhd-varman* may stand either for *Amitwarman* or *Udaya (devd) varman.* In the closing years (about the year 44) Aṁsuvarman was *Mahdrdjddhirdja.* That title, the chronology, and the Chinese records are all against AṁSuvarman's having accepted the

[1] GI, I., 190.

suzerainty of Tibet. And so is also the express authority of the Mañjuŝri History which definitely dates the foreign domination of Nepal *after* Jishṇu-Gupta.

X—ARCHITECTURE, EPIGRAPHY AND CONSTITUTION

Chinese account of Nepal, 643-651 *A.D.*

[HISTORY OF THE THANG DYNASTY, *C.* 221[1]]

People, Currency, Arts, Sciences and Worship

"The kingdom of Nepal is right to the west of Tibet. The inhabitants have the custom to shave their hair just to the level of the eye-brows. They pierce their ears and suspend therein tubes made of bamboo or horn of catde. It is a mark of beauty to have ears hanging upto the shoulders. They eat with their hands without using spoons or sticks. All their utensils are made of copper. The merchants there, moving and stationary, are numerous; cultivators, rare. They have coins of copper which bear on one side a figure of man and on the reverse a horse *[New History:* They have coins of copper which bear on one side a figure of man and on the reverse a horse and a bull, and which have no hole in the middle]. They do not pierce the noses of their bulls. They clothe themselves with a single piece of cloth which envelopes the body. They bathe themselves several times a day. Their houses are constructed of wood. The walls of these are sculptured and painted. Tiiey arc very fond of scenic plays, they take pleasure in blow-

[1] **J.A. 1894,65ff.**

ing trumpets and beating drums. They understand fairly well calculation of destiny and researches in physical philosophy. They are equally clever in the art of the Calendar-maker. They adore five celestial spirits, and sculpture their images in stone. Each day they wash them with purifying water. They roast a lamb and offer it in sacrifice."

The King

"Their king, *Nalingtipo* (Narendradeva) adorns himself with true pearls, rock crystal, mother-of-pearl, coral, and amber; he has in the ears rings of gold and pendants of jade, and a breloc belt ornamented with the figure of the Buddha. He seats himself on a seat of lions.[1] In the middle of the hall one spreads flowers and perfumes. The nobles and the officers and all the court are seated to the right and to the left on the ground; at his sides are ranged hundreds of soldiers having arms."

Kailāṣakuṭa Palace in 643-657 *A.D.*

"In the middle of the palace there is a tower of seven storeys roofed with copper tiles. Its balustrade, grilles, columns, beams, and every thing therein are set with fine and even precious stones. At each of the four corners of the tower there projects a waterpipe of copper. At the base there are golden dragons which spout forth water. From the summit of the tower water is poured through runnels which finds its way down below, streaming like a fountain from the mouth of the golden Makara."

[1] *Cf,* **Thankot inscr.—*siṁhasanddhyasi-kulaketu.***

The Vamsavalis throughout mention the construction of palaces of nine storeys and seven storeys and of copper-roofing temples. The art of Nepal excited the admiration of the Chinese, themselves highly artistic.

Architecture and Temples of Nepal in 657 *A. D.*

The following passages from Chinese History (translated from French by Dr. Banerji-Sastri) prove that in the year 657 A.D. when the Ambassador Wang Hiuentse passed through Nepal once more (in the reign of Narendradeva whom he had known since 643 A.D.) his companions saw a petroleum spring in the neighbourhood of Kathmandu, which might be rediscovered with profit.

The architectural style which is now known as the pagoda style was already in vogue in Nepal in the middle of the seventh century. The Chinese saw there then such temples and secular buildings, the like of which they had not seen or known in their own country. The style travelled from Nepal to China, and not *vice versa.* The style was not known in China before, while every house in Nepal in its essentials is composed in that style. It was a Nepalese invention, and such is also the opinion of Mr. Landon (ii. 257-58) who can speak on the subject with authority as he studied the question in China also. Throughout Tibet and Mongolia the style is unknown. This shows that in China it was an importation, at first as a Buddhist religious architecture from Nepal.

The passage bearing on the palace of Narendra-

deva which was no other than the *Kaildsakūṭa*, of which Amsuvatman was greatly proud (inscription of the year 34), is cited above. The Vamsavalis too note the great Palace and Secretariate built by Aṁguvarman (Wright, p. 133).

Wang Hiuen-ts'e on Nepal

I.—"The *Si-kouo-hing-tchoan* of Wang Hiuen-ts'e says: In the second year of Hien-king (657) an imperial order sent Wang Hiuen-ts'e and some others into the kingdoms of the West to offer to the Buddha a Kaṣāya. They went to *Ni-po-lo* (Nepāla) towards the South-West. Arrived at *Pouo-lo-tou*, they came to the east of the village at the bottom of a depression. There was there a small lake of water on fire. If one takes in hand some lighted fire to illuminate it, suddenly on its surface appears a luminous fire which emerges from the very bosom of the water. If one wishes to extinguish it by drenching it with the water, the water changes into fire and burns. The Chinese envoy and his followers placed thereon a cooking vessel and thus prepared their nourishment by heating. The envoy interrogated the king of the country; the king replied to him : Yore, in striking strokes with a staff, one made to appear a chest of gold; order was given to a man to drag it out. But each time that one pulled it out, it replunged. Tradition says that it is the gold of the diadem of *Mi-le P'ou-sa* (Maitreya Bodhisattva), who is due to come to complete the path. The Nāga of fire protects it and defends it; the fire of this lake

is the fire of the Nāga of Fire."[1]

II.—"To the South-East of the capital, at a small distance, there is a lake of water and of fire. In going one li towards the East, one finds the fountain *A-ki-po-li*[2] (the *Fa-youen-tchou-lin* bears: *A-ki-po-mi* the same alternations in the two redactions of the *History of the Tangs).* Its circumference is of 20 pou (40 paces). In the dry time as in the season of the rains, it is deep; it does not dissipate but keeps on steaming always. If one holds in hand some lighted fire, the entire tank takes fire; the smokes and the fire rise several feet high. If one drenches this fire with some water, then the fire becomes more intense. If one launches therein powdered dust, the flame ceases and what one throws therein turns to ash. If one places a cooking vessel over the water to prepare the food by heating, it is well-heated. There was in olden time in this fountain a coffer of gold. A king ordered to drag this coffer out. When one had brought it out of the mud, the men and elephants pulled at it without succeeding in making it come out. And in the night a super-natural voice says : Here is the diadem of Maitreya Buddha; creatures could not assuredly obtain it, because the Nāga of Fire guards it."

"To the South of the town, at more than 10 li, is found an isolated mountain covered with an extra-ordinary vegetation; Temples are disposed there in numerous storeys which one would take for a crown

[1] ***Missions of Wang*—Fragment IV, drawn from *Fa-youen-tcbou-lin,* chap, xvi, p. 15 b, col. 17.**

[2] ***Agii-puti)* or *agni-pushkari*—K. P. J.**

of clouds. Under the pines and the bamboos, the fishes and the dragons follow man, tame and confiding. They approach the man and come to receive what to eat. Who does them violence causes the ruin of those his own."

"Recently the orders of the Empire passed by this kingdom and thence extended far. Now it depends on *Ten-fan* (Tibet).[5,1]

III. — "In the capital of Nepal there is a construction in storeys which has more than 200 tch'eu of height and 80 peu (400 feet) of circumference. Ten thousand men can find place in its upper part. It is divided in three terraces[2] and each terrace is divided in seven storeys. In the four pavilions, there are sculptures to make you marvel. Stones and pearls decorate them."[3]

Epigraphy of Nepal of the -7th and 8th centuries

Epigraphy of Nepal is a peculiar matter—it is puzzling, especially when one first takes to it. Writing in Nepal is very stationary, the result being that epigraphs of the seventh century appear to be older by several centuries, judged from the standard of the plains. This led Professor Ldvi to assign records dated in Gupta Era to Saka Era and a supposed Lichchhavi Era. The best authority on Nepal paleography is Dr. Bendall who made a very deep study of manuscript paleography of Nepal and with that knowledge he had no hesitation in

[1] Fragments II and III.
[2] "Court-yards" in the Vamsavalls (Wright, 153).
[3] *Cbeu-kia-fang-tchi* Cf. *he Nepal*, per S. Levi, vol. I, pp. 157-9.

assigning correct dates to Nepal lithic inscriptions. He found Gupta characters of the fourth and fifth centuries which were distinct from the AṁSuvarman group (*Journey*, p. 5). Outside the Kathmandu group of towns no search has been made at sites of the old seats of governments. The Kailāsakūṭa mound is yet to be excavated.

In the meantime I may emphasize the archaic nature of Nepal epigraphy by citing one example. There is a copy of the law Digest *Kalpataru* of Lakshmidhara, which was written in the time of the author—12th century. I was anxious to see it, but as the owner General Kaisar Shamsher Jang was away from Nepal I could not see it. My friend the Rājaguru told me that the manuscript which is (on palm leaf) in Nāgarī has notes on the margin of leaves in Gupta characters. Similarly the Rafijana script still current in Nepal is only a variety of Gupta letters. It is so common that ordinary engravers made seals for me in this script.

As Gupta writing persisted in Nepal, so did Guptan and post-Guptan style in sculpture in Nepal. At every step I was deceived by sculptures, a few centuries old, giving an impression of the 9th century and 8th century technique.

Origin of Dual Sovereignty in Nepal

Dual Sovereignty is a bad working hypothesis to the modern political theorist. But it is fully attested and authenticated by the history of Nepal—not only of the period reviewed above but also of the subsequent periods—fully borne out by colophons

of manuscripts noted by Bendall (Nepal Catalogue, i, Introduction), by inscriptions [e.g., Bendall's *Journey,* p. 15] and notices in the Vaṁśavalls of "joint rule"—down to our own time. It is in the very soil of Nepal and works well, wonderfully well. Its origin lies in the dual constitution of the Lichchhavis —of the *Rdfd* and *Upa-Rdjd*—which they carried from VaiSāli into Nepal. Even in their Monarchical days they could not shake it off. The curious sight of two sovereigns in the new Svayamabhū nāth inscription[1] and in the Early Ṭhākurī history puzzled me until the Lichchhavi constitution of the republican VaiSāli was recalled. This *Dvairdjya* system which was fully known to Ancient Hindus and which the Jaina sūtras ask their monks to avoid, is suitable for a constitutional oasis like Nepal. It, at the same time, put a limit to her power of expansion.

Nepal in the past, as to this day, has been mainly oligarchical and never purely monarchical. Therein lies both her strength and weakness.

XI—THAKURIS AFTER JAYADEVA II

The list of the Vaṁśāvalls[2] for the period 880 A.D. to the present dynasty has been confirmed[3] by the researches of Dr. Bendall based purely on dated

[1] JBORS, XXII. 81.

[2] BendalTs VarhSāvall, *Nepal Cat.* i, p. 21; Bhagwanlal Indraji's ed., I.A., IX. 413, other Vaṁsāvalls in Lévi's *Nepal,* ii. 131-132; Kirkpatrick, 261-262.

[3] Only the Third Ṭhākuri Dynasty—I.A., IX, 414—6 names —Jayachandra Malla to ASoka Malla coming before Jayasthiti Malla (1380-1354 A.D.), never ruled and are to be excluded. They must have been subordinate rulers.

manuscripts of Nepal *(Cat.*, p. 21ff). It is therefore not necessary for me to deal with the list after Rāghavadeva (880 A. D.). The names from Rāghavadeva to the end of the dynasty in the VaṁSāvali cited by Bendall (14th century) are:

Rāghavadeva 880 A.D. (46 yrs. 6 months)
Jayadeva (III) (10 yrs.)
Vikramadeva (8 yrs. 9 months)
Narendradeva (III) (1 yr, 6 months)
Guṇakāmadeva (II) (65 yrs. 5 months)
Udayadeva II (1018[1] A.D., according to the total of the above reign-period; (5 yrs. 5 months)
Nirbhaya (MS., 1008; A.D.) (K., 7 yrs.)
Bhojadeva (dated MS., 1015 A.D., not in Bendall's V. list)
Joint rule [Rudra not in any V.]
| Lakshmlkāmadeva (1015 A.D., dated
[manuscript) (21 yrs.)

Jayakāmadeva, 1039 A.D., MS., 'reign over half the kingdom' (20 yrs.) (BendaH's V.; at first joined with the two above).

Against this we have in the other lists :

[Rāghavadeva, only in K., 63 yrs.].
12 Jayadeva (III) (15 yrs.)
13 Balārjunadeva (17 yrs.) [in K. he is above Rāghavadeva]
14 Vikramadeva (12 yrs.)
[Narendradeva, only in K., 1½ yrs.]
15 Guṇakāmadeva (II) (51 yrs.)

[1] There must be a mistake of at least 10 yrs. because the next king's date is 1008 A.D. (Bendall, p. 21).

[Udaya, only in K., 6 yrs.]
[Nirbhaya, only in K., 7 yrs.]
16 Bhojadeva (8 yrs.)
17 Lakshmlkāmadeva (22 yrs.)

In the latter list no. 13 Balārjunadeva is extra. But in the list of Kirkpatrick's VaṁSāvalī, which is in age next to Bendall's and earlier than Wright's and Bhagwanlal's, we have Balārjuna above Rāghavadeva who is omitted by other Vamsavalis. Hence the correct order seems to be that Balārjunadeva should come before Rāghavadeva[1], i.e.

[12] Balārjunadeva
Rāghavadeva
[13] Jayadeva III etc.

The succession of the Ṭhākurī line before Rāghavadeva, thus corrected, stands in the following order. [Fortunately at this period we begin to get reliable reign-periods. The VaṁSāvalīs place these below AṁSuvarman, 42 yrs., K., but they come really below Sivadeva II, as Amsuvarman is misplaced from below Sivadeva I to below Sivadeva II; and Jayadeva II (son of Sivadeva II) is omitted. Then the order runs thus :]

(2) Kritavarman [18 yrs. (K.),654 A.D.[2]]
(3) Bhīmārjunadeva I [39 yrs. (K.), 672 A.D.]
(4) Nandadeva 'introduced the Era of Sālivāhana in Nepal' [13 yrs. (K.), 711 A.D.]

[1] In K. the names Balārjuna and Jayadeva have been repeated three times—evidently the composer who was consulting three authorities copied three orders. All this confusion is cleared up by BendalPs authority,

[2] Dates are calculated back from 880 A.D. for Rāghavadeva (see above).

(5) Sivadeva II (K.) 16 yrs., 724 A.D.
[Viradeva—other recensions]

(6) Chandraketudeva, [omitted by K., did not complete even a year according to others] 740 A.D.

(7) Narendradeva [instituted Tibetan Buddhist worship, and several foundations] 37 yrs. (K.), 7 yrs. (W.) 740—777 A. D.

(8) Varadeva, 17 yrs. (K.), 23 yrs. (L.) 8 yrs. (W.) 777.784 A.D.

(9) Saṁkaradeva 12 yrs. (all authorities) 784-796 A.D.

(10) Vardhamānadeva 13 yrs., 16 yrs., (K.) (Bhīmārjunadeva (K.) 812 A.D.

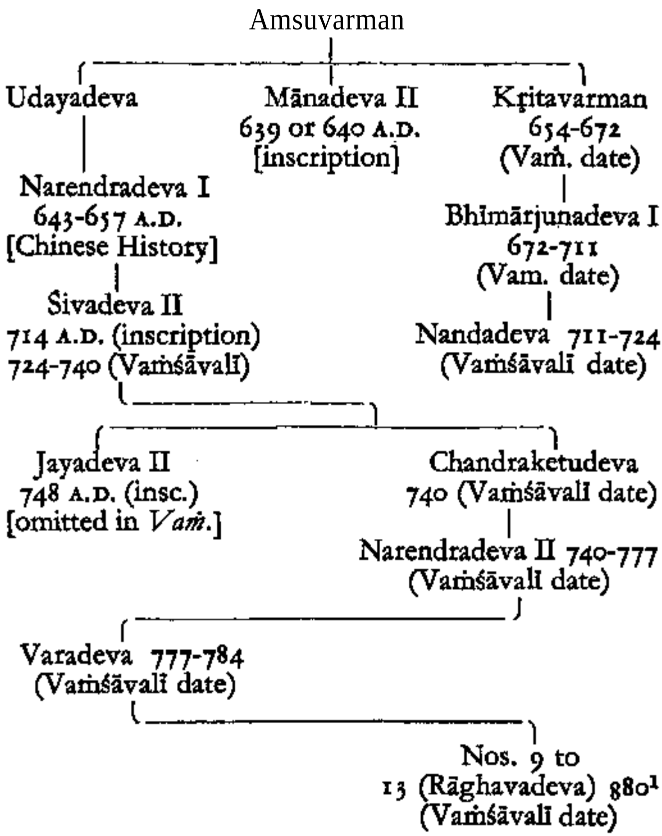
(11) Balideva 13 yrs., 16 yrs. (K.) 828 A.D.

(12) Balārjunadeva 36 yrs., (36 yrs., 7ms. (K.), other 17 yrs.) 844 A. D.

Rāghavadeva 46 yrs. (Bendall) 880-926 A.D.

It seems that Kfitavarman and Bhimārjunadeva I did not reign; no reign period is given to them by Wright's VaṁSāvalī, nor is any event ascribed to them. They are mere names. They might have been feudatories, or only ancestors introduced here to give a complete genealogy from AṁSuvarman. Their reign-periods given in Bhagwanlal's and Levi's Vamsavalis—87 and 93 years—attempt to bridge the time roughly between Amsuvarman and Sivadeva II. The alternative years for them in Kirkpatrick's VaṁSāvall (18 and 39) will make their branch begin about c654 A,D.

The line should be counted from No. 5 Sivadeva II, the three names befote are probably of feudatories. The descent seems to hâve been thus :



The omission of Jayadeva II by the Vaṁéâvalïs in both lists—Lichchhavi and Ṭhâkurï—is significant, After Sivadeva II the main authority seems to hâve passed to Chandraketudeva whose

[1] **Kitkpatrick, p. 202.**

succession is noted to have been disputed, evidently, by Jayadeva II who is not given the full title of sovereignty in his inscription. Probably Chandraketudeva was the elder, and Jayadeva II a usurper. Sivadeva II is given both in the Lichchhavi line (no. 27) after Udayadeva and Mānadeva (with the misplaced Guṇakāmadeva) and in the Ṭhākuri line. This confusion resulted in the Chroniclers because they had read the inscription of Jayadeva II, and on account of the claim of the descendants of Aṁhvarman to be the true Lichchhavi heirs[1]. But the chronology adopted by the VaṁSāvalis[2] is correct and agrees with the inscriptional dates and dates from Chinese History. The Ṭhākuri list further proves by the repetition of Sīvadeva II that the line of Udayadeva really descended from ArhSuvarman.

Defeat of J ay dp Idạ Vinaydditya (782—813 A.D.) *of Kashmir by Nepal*

Jayapida, the Karkota king of Ka§mir, whose history is related at length by Kalhaṇa in his History of Kāshmir, c. iv, verses 402-659, came to throne 48} years after the accession of MuktāpI4[a] Laḷitāditya who had been invested by the Emperor of China in 733 A.D. He therefore became king in or about 782 A.D. and ruled for

[1]One *Vamsavali* cited in Mr. Landon's book *Nepal,* ii, 315 (Bada Kaji's Vamsavali) says that Amhvarman had been adopted as son by Sivadeva I.

[1] That is, the chronology based on the date 880 A.D. for the beginning of the reign of Rāghavadeva, founder of the Nepal Era.

31 years, up to 813 A.D. He is related to have minted an unprecedented quantity of copper dinnāras (verse 617) which is attested by "multitudes" of his coins surviving today.[1] Jayāpīḍa distinguished himself both as king and scholar. He had great daring and desired to be Emperor of India. His exploits extended from the plains of Hindustan to Nepal. He was utterly defeated by the able tactics, peculiarly Nepalese, of the king of Nepal, and was taken prisoner. He was confined in a high stone-tower over the Kāla Gaṇḍikā (modern *Kāli Gaṇḍak)* until rescued by his faithful minister DevaSarman who pursuaded the Nepal king to promise to release him for a ransom, and obtained an interview with his master on that pretext. This episode has been unnecessarily disbelieved by V. Smith (p. 387). The very details and circumstantial and internal evidence furnished by Kalhaṇa affirm the truth of the account. It should be remembered that it was recent history in the time of Kalhaṇa who wrote his History in 1148-1150 A.D. The account runs as follows :

Jayāpīḍa started on a *dig-vijqya* with a large cavalry and reached Prayāga (413-417). After establishing his influence by his marriage at Puṇḍravardhana where he went secretiy, he defeated the king of Kānyakubja with the help of Bengal and carried away his imperial Lion *(siṁhāsana)* Throne (471) and returned to Kashmir after three years, where he was welcomed by his people, who were keen to suppress his traitorous minister Jajja. He made Udbhaṭa, a man of letters, President of his Council, and the famous Dāmodaragupta, author of the *KuṭṭanJ-mata,* his chief minister. He put up buildings, made reforms,

[1] V. Smith, EH, 387.

Wished a 'Moving Bank' to follow his army, and assumed the name *Vinayaditya* (517).

He went as a spy into the eastern kingdom of Bhimasena, evidently on his border, and was taken prisoner, from which condition he escaped simulating a contagious disease. On his release he invaded the neighbouring kingdom of Nepal, which was under King Aramuḍi.

King Aramuḍi, endowed with the art of war and valour, a skilled tactician, planned Jayāpiḍa's defeat (verse 53j). He allowed Jayapida to enter the kingdom and retreated to 'a great distance' with his army, occasionally making himself visible to the pursuing Jayāpiḍa (533-34) who all the time imagined on account of his success in small encounters during the pursuit that he was having a victorious march. J. planted himself on the bank of a river near a large lake, to the east, when on the second or the third day he found to his 'indignation' the enemy facing him with his colours on the other side of the river. The enraged Jayāpida ordered his army to cross the river which was only knee-deep. [The Nepalese: knew their terrain and knew the use of their rivers]. The Kashmir army and their king were swept down by the current which suddenly rose and became irresistible. Cries arose from the bed of the river of distress and that of joy from the opposite bank. Aramuḍi promptly had Jayapida caught at a great distance down the river by the alert Nepalese soldiers with the aid of skins and brought before him with his fine clothes and ornaments of royalty having been deprived by the river. The occasion was celebrated by the Nepalese. He was assigned to a tall tower of stone on the river *Kāla Gaṇḍikā* [the river now called Kāli Gaṇḍak in western Nepal] where he was very closely guarded by the trusted men of the *'wise king* of Nepal (546-548). Kalhaṇa notes that ślokas composed by the king Jayāpiḍa in that confinement, looking down upon the free river, were recited by learned men with pathos even in his own days (550).

Then follows the proposal to king Aramudi by the

Kashmir minister to release Jayapida on receiving a ransom and on condition to make Kashmir a dependency of Nepal. Devasarman received permission to meet his master Jayāpīḍa, and affected his escape by ultimately committing suicide and thereby offering his body as a float.

This latter detail may be an exaggeration of an accident in the attempt of the minister to swim across the river with his master. But the rest of the account is a matter of fact narration recorded by Kashmir at the cost of her own reputation—a statement against her own interest.

Prof. Levi not recognising the name in the Vamsavalis, declared with his Tibetan bias, the king called *Aramuḍi* to be a Tibetan, But Kāshmiris knew the Tibetans too well to make a mistake like that. *Kala Gandika,* still called *Kali Gandak* and the western portion of Nepal where the scene is located offer verification of the story.

In the Nepal VaṁSāvalls we have four steps above Rāghavadeva, founder of the Nepal Era of 880 A.D. (Bendall, *Nepal Catalogue*; p. 21; LA, IX, 413) *Vara-deva*[1]. *Vara-deva* or 'King *Vara* (771-784 A.D.)[2] suits the chronology to be a contemporary of Jayāpiḍa (782-813 A.D.). *Vara* seems to have changed into *Ara.* Varadeva ruled a second

Waradeva
Saṅkaradeva
Vardhamānadcva
Balideva
[Rāghavadeva]
Jayadeva

The chronology from Raghavadeva downwards is fully detailed and made certain by Dr. Bendall.

[2] See above the preceding part of this section.

time, having entered a monastery as a Buddhist monk (Wright, 14a).[1] Or, *Ara* [in Kāshmiri meaning hair (Grierson, *Dictionary*, p. 41)] and *mudi (mundita)* might denote *'monk!* king.

There seems to be in the Vaṁgāvalls, which are a record of superstitious Buddhist priests interested in glorification of Tāntrika gods and goddesses and their idols, the historical account as degenerated into a fantastic story. *Karkota* is the name of the dynasty to which Jayapida belonged. It is also the name of a famous Nāga worshipped in Kashmir and elsewhere in India. The Vamsavalls note that Gorakh-nath, the saint, arrived in Nepal in the reign of Varadeva and arrested Karkoṭa Nāga and imprisoned him in a hillock (Wright, pp. 140,143). This caused a great mischief resulting in a draught. Then king Varadeva sought the help of Achārya Bandhudatta who rescued and released Karkoṭa and established happiness in the valley. Bandhudatta had the pleasure of crossing rivers on the body of Karkoṭa all the same.

Fortunately the History of Kashmir has preserved this account which illustrates the successful traditional tactics of Nepal. Throughout the historian of Kashmir has used words of high respect for the Nepal king who defeated the idol of Kāshmir history—a most courageous figure, a most able king, an accomplished scholar, their greatest patron of men of letters and of letters—although his last days were marked with disregard for temple property which he largely

[1] **This will fall after 784 A. D.**

resumed, and contempt for the Brahmin caste, yet he remained a figure of whom Kashmir has been proud.

There is no reason to transfer from Nepal this chapter of glory to Tibet or to the domain of romance, as done by Levi and Smith.

XII—PALA'S CONNEXION WITH NEPAL AND NEPAL'S LATER COINAGE

In the last quarter of the eighth century, that is, in the period after Jayadeva II, the Pāla Paramountcy begins in India, which remained on the increase in the reign of Dharmapāla (*c.* 800) and Devapāla (*c.* 850 A. D.) whose paramountcy did reach the Himalayan hill states (Kira) and their borders (Assam). The Pāla emperors came in conflict with a Himalayan people called the Kāmbojas who broke the Pāla power for a time and who actually set themselves up at Dinajpur, where one of the routes from Nepal leads down to. This eclipse of the Pālas falls to be in the epoch when Nepal starts her own era in 880 A. D. Under Mahlpāla I the Pāla empire recovered (about 978 or 980).[1] During his reign Buddhism in Tibet was revived by new missions from Bihar, and we take it that Nepal was not ignored. Naya Pāla, his successor, who defeated Karṇa Kalachuri was succeeded by a wicked and weak son, Mahi Pala II, who was succeeded by the powerful Rāma Pāla (1084-1130), His rule covered Mithilā and Assam (V. Smith, E. H., 416). We have positive evidence, which had been

[1] V. Smith, E. H., pp. 414-415-

missed so far, that Rāma Pāla was the suzerain of Nepal also.

A palm-leaf manuscript—*Ystbjikamatam* which is a part of the Tantrika Buddhist work *Kulalikamnaya* is in the Nepal State Library (H. P. Sastri, Catalogue, p. 54) which is in Newārī characters. It notes in the colophon that the manuscript was copied under the reign of the Buddhist Emperor Rāmapāladeva:

ParameSvara-Parama-bhaṭṭāraka
parama-Saugata-Mahārājādhirāja
Srimad-Rāmapāladevasya
pravardha—(i.e. pravardhamana-vijaya-rajye).

The portion in front of *paramebara* is read as *Kāma-devasya* which if it refers to the Nepal king has to be read as *Vdmadevasya* whose time as ascertained from manuscripts of his reign and his predecessor and successor is between 1077 and 1090 A. D. (Bendall, Nepal Catalogue, *Intro*, p. 22).

We have thus positive proof of the fact that at least in the time of Rāma Pāla Nepal was under Pāla suzerainty. It is very likely that under Dharma Pāla and Deva Pala a similar state obtained.

We do not find Nepal striking her own coins from about 800 A. D. onwards. This is probably explained by the fact of the Pala domination, which was immediately followed by the Kārnāṭaka domination beginning with Nānyadeva. At the close of the Kārnāṭaka period we find Nepal imitating the coin of Alauddin Khilji.[1] Then follows a troubled period until stability is restored under

[1] See separate article on the Unrecorded Muhammadan Invasion of Nepal in JBORS., XXII. 81.

Jayasithimalla[1] (1380-1394). Nepal acknowledged nominal suzerainty of Delhi as noted by Travernier.[2] And naturally we do not find a Nepal coinage until permission for establishing a mint was obtained from the early Moghuls.

Nepal thus from 800 A. D. or at any rate from 1080 A. D. remained as part of the Indian Empire up to Moghul days in international theory, which found a tangible expression in the history of her coinage—the absence of coinage. The same is to be predicated of her in the Imperial Gupta times as well.

B

EARLY DYNASTIES OF NEPAL

XIII—"NIMISHA DYNASTY" [205 A.D. TO 3JO A.D.]

AND KIRATA DYNASTY [590 B.C. TO 110 A.D.]

The Vamsavalis[3] other than Kirkpatrick's give five names at the close of the native Kirāta Dynasty and before the Sūryavamśa, i.e., the Lichchhavi Dynasty of Nepal—*Nimisha (Nevesit*—K.)—*Mandksha* (or *Matdksha), Kdka-varman, PaJupreksha-deva* (founder of the Pasupati Temple who introduced Aryan population from Hindustan) and *Bhdskara-varman* (who conquered the whole of India, and being childless adopted *Bhūmivarman).* They call this

[1] There was a Khasiyā invasion (1328 A. D.—Bendall, p. 10) and to that period must belong the curious clay coins of *Mathi singha Khasiyā.* The legend, in Nāgarl, is on the milled edge.

ail.ch. XV.

[3] Bhagwanlal Indraji's recension summarised in I. A., XIII. 411 at 412; Wright's copy in his *History of Nepal,* 112; Levi's copy summarised in his *Nepal,* ii. 83.

Somavamsi dynasty. With *Bhumivarman* whose grandson was Jayadeva I (mentioned in the inscription of Jayadeva II) the later Vaṁgavalis begin a new dynasty (the Sūryavaṁh). But Kirkpatrick's authority while mentioning this adoption, does not begin a new dynasty and treats the two groups as forming one dynasty 'Nevesit'. It begins the dynasty with *Nevesit.* This *Nevesit* is really *Nevesi* corresponding with *Nimisha* of the later works, which have really turned **Nivisi* into *Nimisha. 'Nivisi'* represented **Nichivi (*Nisivi) = Nichchhivi* (Manu)= *Uchchhavi.* There was no distinct dynasty of a Somavaṁśa of the five rulers in the original authorities.

The seven rulers before Jayadeva I were rulers obviously in the plains, that is, at VaiSāli. They annexed Nepal about 200 A. D. and established a direct government there, marking the event with the installation of PaSupati—which is a Mukhaliṅga of the style of the Nāga-Vākāṭakas, i.e., of the period.[1] '*Nimisha'* being only the dynastic name the first ruler of Nepal would be Mānāksha or Matāksha, and the effective founder, Paiuprekha the third king, who is credited with the introduction of Hindu caste-rules and population (of four varṇas) from Hindustan, and as being the founder of Pasupati's Temple.

His successor Bhāskaravarman, the great conqueror of India, is probably the grandfather of SamudraGupta, and father-in-law of Chandragupta I. He was still probably the President

[1]See my *History of India,* 150-350 A. D., the plates and description of the Nachnā and other images.

of the Republic at Vaisall, for the coins of Chandra Gupta I are struck by the *"Lichchhavis"* He seems to have defeated Magadha and evidently his dominions were large enough to entitle Chandra Gupta I to call himself *Mahdrdjddhirdja.* The seat of government changed from VaiSāli to Nepal where his adopted son Bhūmivarman succeeded and the plains passed on to Chandra Gup-ta I and his Queen, the Lichchhavi lady. In Nepal Jayadeva I turned the state into a monarchy or a double kingship.

The succession seems to have stood thus:

Bhāskara-Varmā [or,-Deva]
|
Daughter= Chandra Gupta I
Bhūmi-Varmā (or,-Deva)
|
Jayadeva I

We may roughly date the Early Lichchhavis :

c. 205 A. D.	Mānāksha
c. 230 A.D.	Kāka-varman
c. 255 A. D.	Pa§uprekshadeva
c. 280-305 A. D.	Bhāskaravarman
c. 305 A. D.	Bhūmivarman
c. 330 A. D.	Chandravarman [Is he the same as Chandra-Gupta I?]
c. 340 or 350 A. D.	Jayadeva I[1]

The Lichchhavi monarchy in Nepal probably retained its original character of divided sovereignty,

[1]This date is calculated on the basis of Jayadeva II's inscription : See Fleet, GI, *L* p. 189; and other data in the section on Lichchhavi list, *supra.*

otherwise the position of Amsuvarman's dictatorship and Sivadeva's sovereignty is not explicable. Probably even before Amsuvarman some similar arrangement obtained.

Nimisha is said to have displaced the Kirāta Dynasty in Nepal—(205 A.D.).

The original Kirāta Dynasty which is the first dynasty of Nepal had 28 kings.[1] It was under the 15 th Kirata—Sthunko—that Asoka visited Nepal. According to the Nepal Chronicles the autonomy of Nepal was maintained by Aioka under the Kirāta dynasty. This may or may not be correct, as Anoka's son-in-law Devapāla and his daughter became permanent residents there. After A^oka and DaSaratha the original dynasty would have revived in Nepal Proper. In the Western part of Nepal in Sunga times we find silver coins of Sunga princes (Sumitra)[2], Imperial and local (Sivapalita). It is possible that early Sungas might have exercised suzerainty over Nepal. But the continuous line of the Kirāta House entitles us to assume a continuous autonomy. The succession of 15 kings from the time of Asoka and Sthunko would bring the dynasty to about no A. D. [see below].

We have thus a gap between the Kirāta and the Lichchhavi epochs—no A. D. and 205 A. D.

[1]The Gupta and Ahir dynasties introduced before the KirStas (600 B. C.-110 A. D.) who are treated again with the kings of the Sixth and Seventh centuries A.D. are really misplaced here; it simply signifies that Hindu history in Nepal begins with the Gupta Period.

[1] Almora coins of alloyed silver; JBORS, XX. 301.

—which is not filled up by the written history of Nepal.

Here coins come to our help. Mr. E. H. Walsh has recorded (JRAS., 1908, p. 677) that a hoard of Kushan coins was dug up in the neighbourhood of Kāṭhmāṇḍu. They were coins of Wema Kadphises and of Kanishka. It seems that the Kushan rule might fill this gap of hundred years. Though evidence is not yet conclusive.

The beginning of the Kirāta dynasty (13 generations before A£oka) is to be dated about 600 B. C.

Tie Kirata Kings

Omitting *Yalamva* and *Paui* [omitted in K.], as belonging to the Second Kirāta dynasty of the sixth century (§ VII), the approximate dates of the kings of the First Kirāta Dynasty will be as calculated below on the basis of the date of Sthujiko, contemporary of ASoka :

2.	**Dhaskam**	C. 590 B.C.
3.	**Valamva**	C. 565 B.C.
4.	**Mṛiti**	C. 540 B.C.
5.	**Humati**	C. 515 B.C.
6.	**[Tuskhah] K.** .. .. ,.	C. 490 B.C.
7.	**Jitedāsti [Sroopast-K.]**	C. 465 B.C.
8.	**[Galiṁja]**	C. 440 B.C.
9.	**P (T)ushka Paṃcham (K.)**	C. 415 B.C.
10.	**Suyarma [King-king-king (K.)]**	C. 390 B.C.
11.	**Parba [Soonand-K.]**	C. 365 B.C.
12.	**Thuhka [Thoomoo-K.]**	C. 340 B.C.
13.	**Kerhke**	C. 315 B.C.
14.	**Svananda [Jaighree-K.]**	C. 290 B.C
15.	**Sthuṁko [contemporary of ASoka]** ..	C. 265 B.C.
16.	**Gighri [Suenkeh-K.]..**	C. 240 B.C.

17.	Nane [Thoot-K.]	..	..	..	a 215 B.C.
18.	Luk [Thamoo-K.]	..	..	..	c. 190 B.C.
19.	Thor (Barmah-K.]	.,	..	..	C. 165 B.C.
20.	Thoko [Ganjeh-K.]	..	..	..	C. 140 B.C.
21.	Vanna [Kashkoon-K.]		..	..	C. 115 B.C.
22.	Guja [Teeshoo-K.]	..	..	..	C. 90 B.C.
23.	Pushka [Soogmcca-K.]		..	..	C. 65 B.C.
24.	Kcsu [Joosha-K,]	..	..	..	C. 40 B.C.
25.	Suga [Gontho4C.]	..	..	..	C. 15 B.C.
26.	Sansa [Khembhoom-K.]		..	..	C. 10 A.D,
27.	Gunan [Galijang-K.]..		..	..	C. 35 A.D.
28.	Khimbu	..	..	..	C. 60 A.D.
29.	Patuka	..	..	..	C. 85 A.D.
30.	Gasti	..	..	..	C. 110 A.D.

It may be noted that the popular tradition in Nepal today is that the first dynasty of Nepal was *Kśrdtś,* second *Newdrf,* and lastly *Gorkhd.*

C

A RETROSPECT

XIV

The history of Nepal is a part of the history of India and of the Hindu Race. The valley was colonized by the Hindus both consciously and by natural process of expansion. Yet it is the history of a colony, with its distinctive features. Those features may be summarised in this way. The ruling dynasties, though mostly Hindus from the plains of India—the Mauryas, the Lichchhavis, the Klrnāṭakas, the Gorkhas—have a tendency to establish a system of divided sovereignty which works happily in that **happy** valley of PaSupati. There is much less cause

for jealousy in that system on the soil of Nepal than anywhere else. Joint rules and regencies are a familiar problem in the Lichchhavi times, in the Ṭhākuri times, in the Malla times and in the Gurkha times—two kings occupying the same town or contiguous towns afford a picture of a Mitāksharā family agreeing upon, as we say in Hindu law, a 'division for the convenience of enjoyment' rather than upon an actual division by metes and bounds. This divided sovereignty would baffle theorists of political science but has been a familiar, good working system in Nepal.

There is always a sort of internal weakness, but to the outside world Nepal has always shown strength. Throughout her history there has been no case of traitorous betrayal. Internally weak, but externally strong is again a political problem which is explainable by its republican origin noticed above. Nepal's whole history bears out the rule that the little kingdom can defend itself most effectively—it defeated Tibet in her palmiest days when Tibet was the first power in Asia, it defeated Kashmir when Kashmir was the first power in India, it defeated King Shamsuddin, the most brilliant Muslim soldier of the 14th century. Small, and 'internally weak,' Nepal is a successful state against the invader. And why ? Its republican Lichchhavi origin explains the mystery. Its strong political sense is a Lichchhavi heritage.

Nepal has been in Hindu times mostly a member of the Indian Empire. But for centuries, being situated between two large empires—China and India—Nepal has evolved a wise international policy,

wherein she has hardly ever taken a false step. Owing to that wise policy, her international position today is such as it had probably never been before. She enjoys and rightly the complete confidence of her powerful neighbour.

INDEX

A

C

H

I

P

U

V